

JK 11

1919





C 280
186

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY FROM
WASHINGTON TO WILSON

Macmillan's Pocket American and English Classics

A SERIES OF ENGLISH TEXTS, EDITED FOR USE IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, WITH CRITICAL INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, ETC.

16mo

Cloth

32 cents each

- Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley.
American Democracy from Washington to Wilson.
American Patriotism in Prose and Verse.
Andersen's Fairy Tales.
Arabian Nights' Entertainments.
Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum.
Austen's Pride and Prejudice.
Austen's Sense and Sensibility.
Bacon's Essays.
Baker's Out of the Northland.
Bible (Memorable Passages).
Blackmore's Lorna Doone.
Boswell's Life of Johnson. Abridged.
Browning's Shorter Poems.
Mrs. Browning's Poems (Selected).
Bryant's Thanatopsis, etc.
Bryce on American Democracy.
Bulwer-Lytton's Last Days of Pompeii.
Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress.
Burke's Speech on Conciliation.
Burns' Poems (Selections).
Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.
Byron's Shorter Poems.
Carlyle's Essay on Burns.
Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship.
Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.
Chaucer's Prologue and Knight's Tale.
Church's The Story of the Iliad.
Church's The Story of the Odyssey.
Coleridge's The Ancient Mariner.
Cooper's The Deerslayer.
Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans.
Cooper's The Spy.
Dana's Two Years Before the Mast.
Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. Part I.
Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. Abridged.
De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.
De Quincey's Joan of Arc, and The English Mail-Coach.
Dickens' A Christmas Carol, and The Cricket on the Hearth.
Dickens' A Tale of Two Cities.
Dickens' David Copperfield. (Two vols.)
Dickens' Oliver Twist.
Dryden's Palamon and Arcite.
Early American Orations, 1760-1824.
Edwards' Sermons.
Eliot's Mill on the Floss.
Eliot's Silas Marner.
Emerson's Essays.
Emerson's Early Poems.
Emerson's Representative Men.
English Essays.
English Narrative Poems.
Epoch-making Papers in U. S. History.
Franklin's Autobiography.
Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford.
Goldsmith's The Deserted Village, and Other Poems.
Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield.
Gray's Elegy, etc., and Cowper's John Gilpin, etc.
Grimm's Fairy Tales.
Hale's The Man Without a Country.
Hawthorne's Grandfather's Chair.
Hawthorne's Mosses from an Old Manse.
Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales.
Hawthorne's The House of the Seven Gables.
Hawthorne's Twice-told Tales (Selections).
Hawthorne's Wonder-Book.
Holmes' Poems.
Holmes' Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.
Homer's Iliad (Translated).
Homer's Odyssey (Translated).
Hughes' Tom Brown's School Days.
Hugo's Les Miserables. Abridged.
Huxley's Selected Essays and Addresses.
Irving's Life of Goldsmith.
Irving's Knickerbocker's History.
Irving's Sketch Book.
Irving's The Alhambra.
Irving's Tales of a Traveller.
Keary's Heroes of Asgard.
à Kempis : The Imitation of Christ.
Kingsley's The Heroes.
Kingsley's Westward Ho!
Lamb's The Essays of Elia.
Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare.
Letters from Many Pens.
Lincoln's Addresses, Inaugurals, and Letters.
Lockhart's Life of Scott. Abridged.
London's Call of the Wild.

Macmillan's Pocket American and English Classics

A SERIES OF ENGLISH TEXTS, EDITED FOR USE IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, WITH CRITICAL INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, ETC.

16mo

Cloth

32 cents each

Longfellow's *Evangeline*.
Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.
Longfellow's *Miles Standish*.
Longfellow's *Miles Standish and Minor Poems*.
Longfellow's *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.
Lowell's *The Vision of Sir Launfal*.
Lowell's *Earlier Essays*.
Macaulay's *Essay on Addison*.
Macaulay's *Essay on Hastings*.
Macaulay's *Essay on Lord Clive*.
Macaulay's *Essay on Milton*.
Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.
Macaulay's *Life of Samuel Johnson*.
Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*.
Milton's *Minor Poems*.
Milton's *Paradise Lost, Books I and II*.
Old English Ballads.
Old Testament Selections.
Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*.
Parkman's *Oregon Trail*.
Plutarch's *Lives of Cæsar, Brutus, and Mark Antony*.
Poe's *Poems*.
Poe's *Prose Tales (Selections)*.
Poems, *Narrative and Lyrical*.
Pope's *Homer's Iliad*.
Pope's *Homer's Odyssey*.
Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*.
Representative Short Stories.
Rossetti's (*Christina*) *Selected Poems*.
Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*.
Ruskin's *The Crown of Wild Olive and Queen of the Air*.
Scott's *Ivanhoe*.
Scott's *Kenilworth*.
Scott's *Lady of the Lake*.
Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*.
Scott's *Marmion*.
Scott's *Quentin Durward*.
Scott's *The Talisman*.
Select Orations.
Selected Poems, for Required Reading in Secondary Schools.
Selections from American Poetry.
Selections for Oral Reading.

Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.
Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.
Shakespeare's *Henry V*.
Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*.
Shakespeare's *King Lear*.
Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.
Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.
Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*.
Shakespeare's *Richard II*.
Shakespeare's *Richard III*.
Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.
Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.
Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.
Shelley and Keats: *Poems*.
Sheridan's *The Rivals and The School for Scandal*.
Short Stories.
Short Stories and Selections.
Southern Orators: *Selections*.
Southern Poets: *Selections*.
Southey's *Life of Nelson*.
Spenser's *Faerie Queene, Book I*.
Stevenson's *Kidnapped*.
Stevenson's *The Master of Ballantrae*.
Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey, and An Inland Voyage*.
Stevenson's *Treasure Island*.
Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.
Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.
Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.
Tennyson's *The Princess*.
Tennyson's *Shorter Poems*.
Thackeray's *English Humorists*.
Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*.
Thoreau's *Walden*.
Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay. Abridged*.
Virgil's *Æneid*.
Washington's *Farewell Address, and Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration*.
Whittier's *Snow-Bound and Other Early Poems*.
Wister's *The Virginian*.
Woolman's *Journal*.
Wordsworth's *Shorter Poems*.



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO • DALLAS
ATLANTA • SAN FRANCISCO

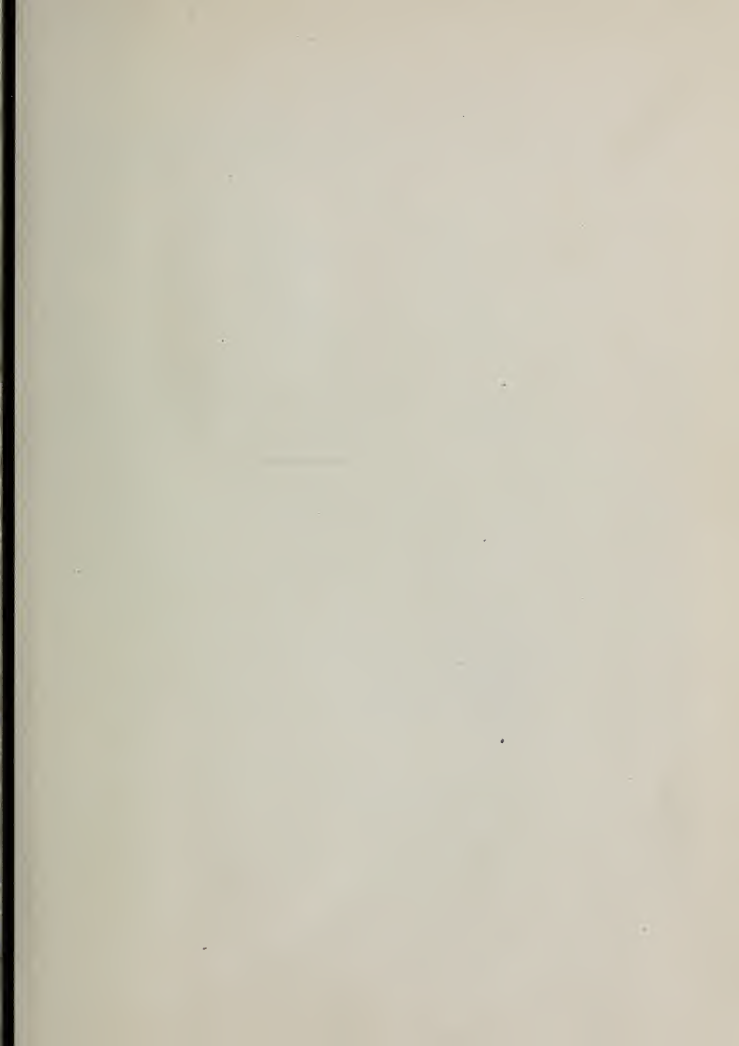
MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED

LONDON • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.

TORONTO

MAY 28 1919





“WHAT WE SEEK IS THE REIGN OF LAW, BASED UPON THE
CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED AND SUSTAINED BY THE ORGANIZED
OPINION OF MANKIND.”

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY FROM WASHINGTON TO WILSON

ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

JOHN H. FINLEY

COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR THE STATE
OF NEW YORK

AND A PREFACE AND NOTES

BY

JAMES SULLIVAN

DIRECTOR OF THE DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY,
ALBANY, NEW YORK

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1919

All rights reserved

JK11
1919

COPYRIGHT, 1919,

By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and electrotyped. Published May, 1919.

MAY 28 1919

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

©CL A525700

no 1

PREFACE

THIS collection both in its contents and in its editing and preparation is of a composite character. Dr. Finley's absence in Palestine at the head of the Red Cross Commission made it impossible for him to complete the notes on Roosevelt's and Wilson's addresses and he asked me if I would not kindly do it. In combining the addresses of late President Roosevelt and of our President with those of Washington, Webster and Lincoln it was found that the publishers already had well edited and annotated texts of the latter prepared by Dr. Peck and Mr. Chubb. The biographical sketches and notes written by them have therefore been placed at the end of this volume, along with the biographical notices on Roosevelt and Wilson and the notes on their addresses, which have been written by the present editor.

Some of President Wilson's addresses had already been very thoroughly annotated by various professors (see names in the notes) and issued by the Committee on Public Information at Washington. Permission to use these has been very graciously granted by that body.

By keeping the texts of the addresses at the beginning and placing all biographical material and notes at the back of the volume, the editor feels that the double purpose is served of presenting a work to those who merely wish to read the greatest of the public addresses in the period covered from Washington to Wilson, and to students who wish to make a more thorough study of them.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

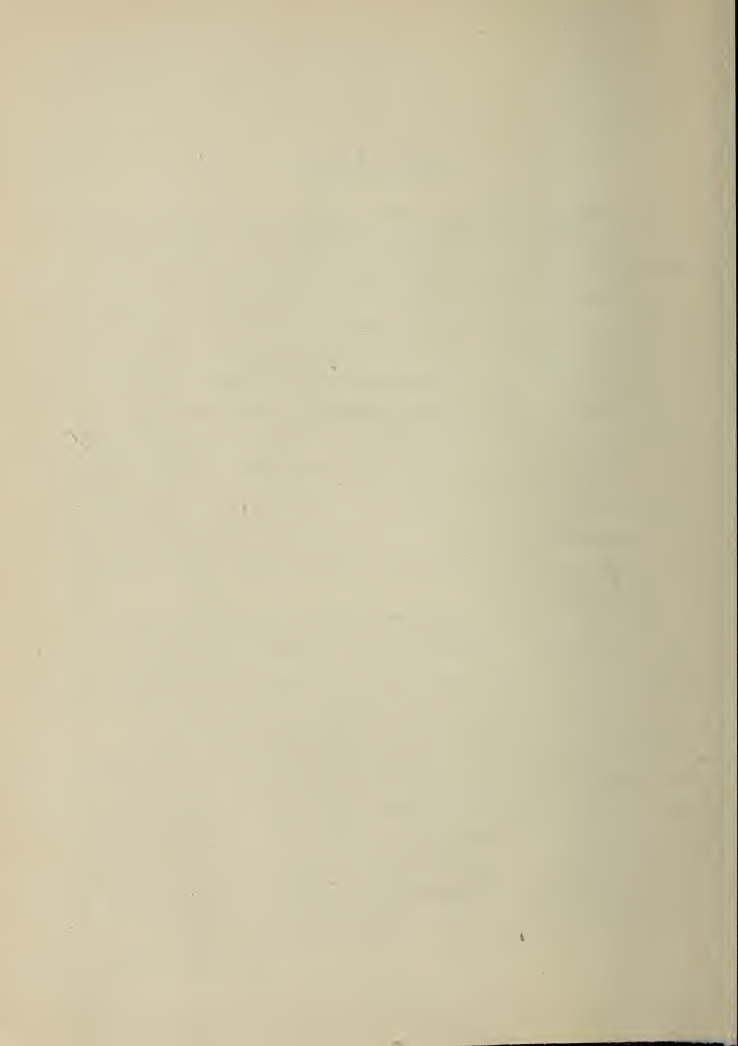


TABLE OF CONTENTS

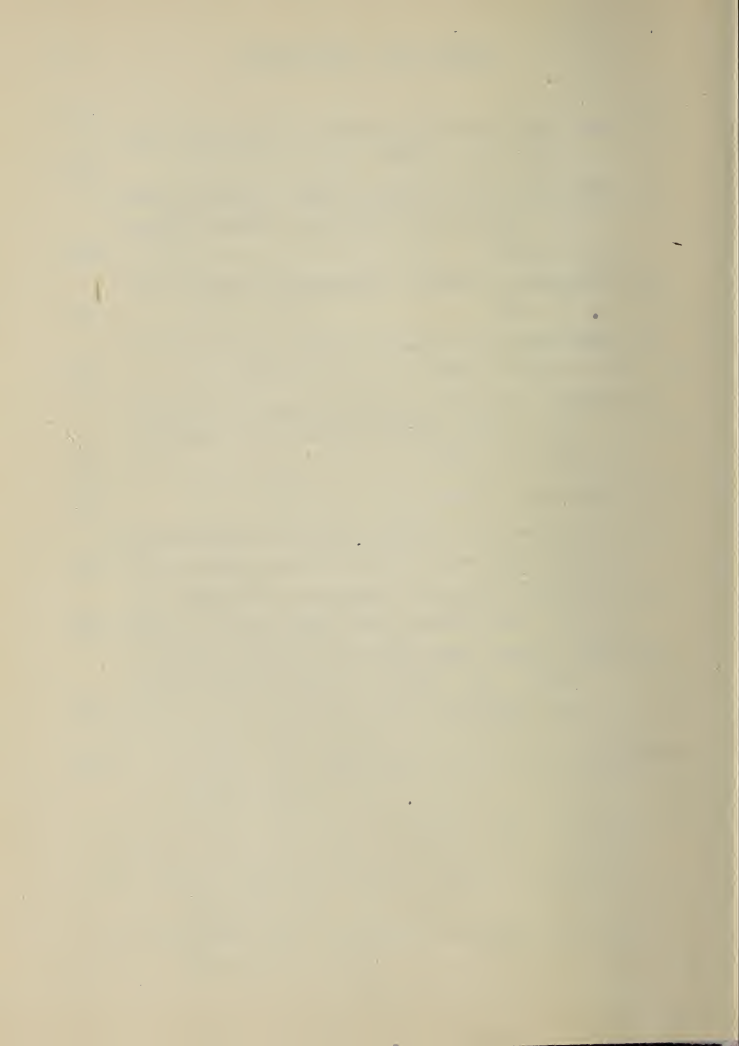
	PAGE
INTRODUCTION BY JOHN H. FINLEY	xiii
WASHINGTON :	
1. Farewell Address	1
WEBSTER :	
2. The Bunker Hill Monument	23
LINCOLN :	
3. Address at Cooper Institute, Feb. 27, 1860	49
4. Addresses in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1861, and at Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1861	65
5. First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861	68
6. Letter to Horace Greeley, Aug. 22, 1862	81
7. Reply to Address from Workingmen of Man- chester, Jan. 19, 1863	83
8. Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863	86
9. Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865	87
10. Last Public Address, April 11, 1865	90
ROOSEVELT :	
11. Inaugural Address, March 4, 1905	97
WILSON :	
12. First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1913	100
13. The Declaration of Independence. Selection from the Address at Philadelphia, July 4, 1914	107

	PAGE
14. The Pan American Program. An Extract from an Address, Jan. 6, 1916	118
15. The Traditions of America. An Extract from an Address, April 17, 1916	121
16. Americanization and Loyalty. Address before the Citizenship Convention at Washington, July 13, 1916	123
17. Abraham Lincoln. Address at Lincoln's Birth- place, Hodgenville, Kentucky, Sept. 4, 1916	129
18. The Foundations of Peace. Part of an Address before the Senate, Jan. 22, 1917	135
19. Breaking with Germany. Message to Congress, Feb. 3, 1917.	141
20. Second Inaugural Address, March 5, 1917	147
21. Germany Makes War on the United States. War Address to Congress, April 2, 1917	153
22. Ways to Serve the Nation During War. A Pro- clamation to the American People, April 15, 1917	167
23. Memorial Day Address, May 30, 1917	173
24. The Fight for Freedom. A Message to the People and New Government of Russia, June 9, 1917	175
25. Our Flag. Flag Day Address, June 14, 1917	179
26. Testing a Plan of Peace. Reply to the Pope, Aug. 27, 1917	188
27. Struggling with Autocracy. Message to Con- gress, Dec. 4, 1917	193

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
28. War Aims and Peace Terms. Address to Congress, Jan. 8, 1918	207
29. Message to the Russian People. Greeting sent to Congress of Soviets at Moscow, March 11, 1918	216
30. Principles of Peace. Address to Congress, Feb. 11, 1918	217
31. The Challenge of Force. Address at Baltimore, April 6, 1918	226
32. Standing Together for Democracy. Address to the American Federation of Labor at Buffalo, Nov. 12, 1917	232
33. Greeting to France, July 14, 1918	241
34. There Can Be No Halfway Peace. Independence Day Address at Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918	242
35. Our Peace Program. Address at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, Sept. 27, 1918	247
36. The Necessity for a League of Nations. Speech before the Peace Conference at Paris, Jan. 25, 1919	257
NOTES	265



INTRODUCTION

THE addresses which have been brought together in this little volume were carried across the Atlantic, since there was not time in which to write the promised introductory word before the journey was begun. I made notes along the way but it was not till I was delayed for many hours not far from the Western Front, where I could see the constant flashing in the sky above the place of the supreme struggle, that I could make a beginning of writing anything in preface to these august utterances which cry across our whole national history and especially out of its most critical hours and darkest nights. It was there that the very principles for whose maintenance Washington, Webster, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson spoke, were being fought for in the most important and critical conflict in the world's history. The flashes in the sky seemed at first but "heat lightning" such as I had seen hundreds of times in the prairie skies of the Mississippi Valley, and as the train waited silently in the midst of the fields a nightingale began to sing whose voice was heard "in ancient days by Emperor and clown" and still sings on "the self-same song that found a path through the heart of Ruth." But no pacifistic interpretation of the light in the skies should deceive our children and youth; and no singing groves of literature causes to "fade, far away" the land "where but to think is to be full of sorrow." And so it is that the minds of our children whom we would have happy

even in the face of grim reality, must know the true meaning of these flashings, as of those above Sinai, and appreciate the values of the principles set forth in this solemn, little volume, collected and annotated by Dr. James Sullivan, the State Historian of New York. Their happiness is dependent upon our helping to carry through to the victorious end the war which, with all our reluctance to be "entangled" in Europe's quarrels, we have been "guided by justice" in entering.

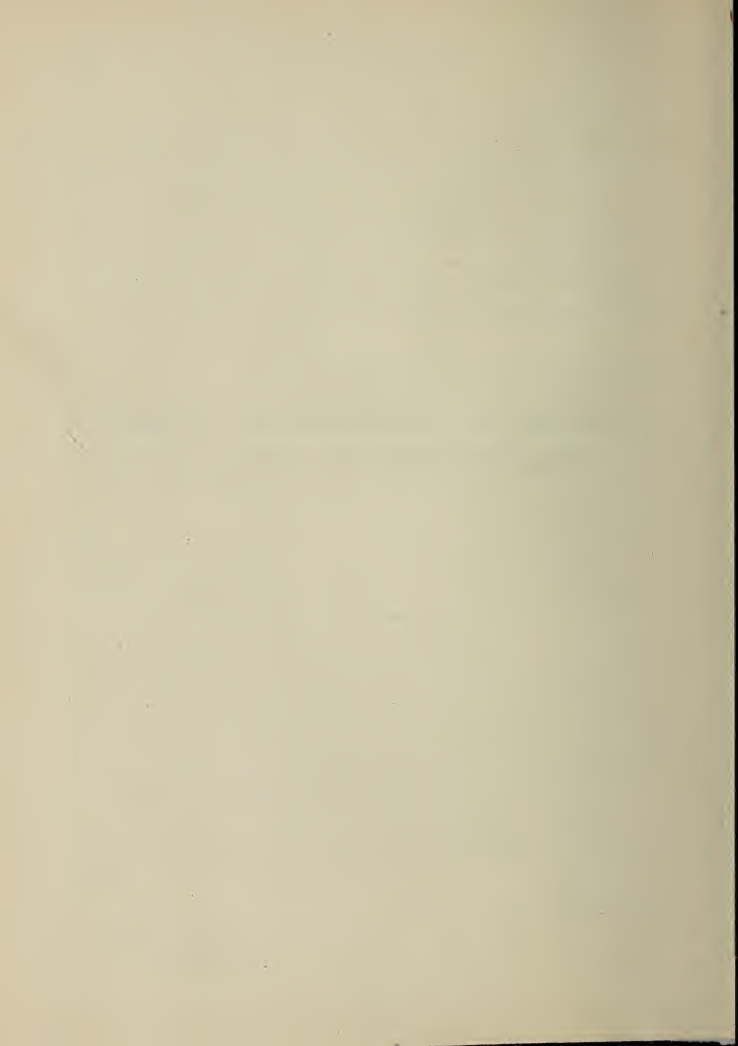
It was not many nights later that I saw and heard the night-battle in the moonlit skies above Paris when the barbarous ships attempted to kill and wreck, and the defending barrage to protect women and children, homes and the highest creations of men's labor and imagination against this ravage. These words of our national leaders are as the barrage of national and world freedom which must constantly be rising in the minds of men and even of children against the menace of "selfish dominion," — the "terror by night" of our present era and the "destruction that wasteth at noonday."

And now from Rome, amid the ruins of her ancient empire, I send back these few prefatory paragraphs. The first words which I read on entering the city were these (the headline in the paper just come from the press) "*Truppe Americane al Fronte Italiano.*" So is the freedom cry of the New World being heard in the land of its discoverer, and so will it be heard in these immortal utterances when the night skies are again lighted by the stars only.

JOHN H. FINLEY.

ROME, ITALY,
May 28, 1918.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY FROM
WASHINGTON TO WILSON



AMERICAN DEMOCRACY FROM WASHINGTON TO WILSON

GEORGE WASHINGTON

1. FAREWELL ADDRESS

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived,^o when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed ⁵ with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to ¹⁰ be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; ¹⁵ and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is com- ²⁰ patible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the

office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been
5 much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election,^o had even led to the preparation of an
10 address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations,^o and the unanimous advice of persons^o entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

15 I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circum-
20 stances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I
25 have, with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious,^o in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own
30 eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years^o admonishes

me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country ¹⁰ for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. ¹⁵ If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances ²⁰ sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans, by which they were ²⁵ effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free ³⁰ constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every

department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this
5 blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and
10 the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and
15 which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor
20 can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.^o

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.
25

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace
30 abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from

different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often 5 covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming 10 yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium^o of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon 15 the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common 20 country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades 25 of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, 30 and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they

address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apos-

tate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means 5 and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between 10 themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, like- 15 wise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered 20 as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patri- 25 otic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of 30 governments for the respective subdivisions,° will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair

and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall^o not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism
5 of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing
10 parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients
15 of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each
20 other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain,^o and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the
25 United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with
30 Great Britain^o and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not

be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

5

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay,^o by the adoption of a constitution^o of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government,¹⁵ the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security³⁵ with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment,²⁰ has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to²⁵ alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes³⁰ the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations,^o under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of fashion, rather than the organs of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the prettexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly over-

thrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

20

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful
5 despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction,
10 more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight),
15 the common and continued mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the com-
20 munity with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of
25 party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government,
30 and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence,

if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change

by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any
5 partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of
10 patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private
15 and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality
20 can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

25 It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?
30

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In pro-

portion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of

a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the
5 course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is
10 recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others,
15 should be excluded^o; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which
20 is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute
25 occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity,
30 and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, am-

bition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the 5 favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or 10 justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, 15 in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding 20 with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, 25 such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attach- 30 ment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoy-

ance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may 5 choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Eu- 10 rope, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be under- 15 stood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it 20 is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; 30 diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers

so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will
5 permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for
10 whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate
15 upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will
20 make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit,
25 some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which
30 they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated,

the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my 5 proclamation^o of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it. 10

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should 15 depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of 20 the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice 25 and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and ex- 30 perience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature

its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

5 Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert
10 or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be con-
15 signed to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself
20 and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever
25 favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 19th September, 1796.

DANIEL WEBSTER

2. THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

THIS uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious 5 temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to re- 10 press the emotions which agitate us here. We are° among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not° to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice 15 an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attrac- 20 tion to the eyes of successive generations. But° we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity,

through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that
5 we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

10 We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to
15 contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America^o stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown
20 ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with
25 the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England.^o We cherish every memorial of
30 these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly

proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth,^o while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony^o forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended. 10

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion. 20

The Society^o whose organ I am was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Al- 30

mighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned
5 grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know,^o indeed, that the record of illustrious actions
10 is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but
- part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already
15 been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no
20 structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude
25 to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the pur-
30 pose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hos-

tility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has 5 been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must for ever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming 10 time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that in- 15 fancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, 20 which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires 25 of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which 30 shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming;

let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.°

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish 5 centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been 10 expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States° erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished 15 so soon, were it not for the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve,° the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and 20 the Mississippi become° the fellow-citizens and neighbors° of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without 25 taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.°

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution,° which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost 30 every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones° which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example

has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government° have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power° in this continent, from the place where we stand 5 to the south pole, is annihilated for ever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general 10 spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our 15 own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, 20 I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

VENERABLE MEN°! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous 25 day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else how changed! 30 You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charles-

town. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms
5 freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis,^o its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children
10 and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships,^o by a felicity of
15 position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere
20 you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to
25 thank you^o!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Reed, Pomeroy, Bridge^o! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your
30 fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate

of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

5

“another morn,
Risen on mid-noon ;”^o

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But, ah! Him^o! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-¹⁰devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he ¹⁵saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage!—how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name^o! Our poor work may perish; but thine shall ²⁰endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim ²⁵kindred with thy spirit.

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here ³⁰

in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth,^o from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward
10 to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal
15 gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons
20 of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the
25 hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and
30 see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which

beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind.

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle^o of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government^o of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest,^o no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors

of Salem.^o Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress,^o then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts^o responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to

the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord^o had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

“totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”^o

War on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but ¹⁰ their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and ¹⁵ mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of the civil war. Death might come in honor, on the field; it might come in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy^o was full in their hearts. “Blandishments,” said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, “will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.” ²⁵

The 17th of June saw the four^o New England Colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever, one cause, one country, one heart. ³⁰

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general
10 consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of
15 argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will for ever deserve to be studied ; not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the
20 ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw,
25 that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead
30 on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the

world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.^o He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establish- 5
ment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the 10
happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both 15
hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from 20
our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of 25
France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the cornerstone of our monument has now taken its position. You 30
see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McClary, Moore,^o and other early patriots fell with him.

Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms
5 to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours for ever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our
10 feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates,
15 to Sullivan, and to Lincoln.^o We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. "*Serus in cælum redeas.*"^o Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O, very far distant
20 be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was
25 fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while
30 nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different

rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

30

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally

speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars^o of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at

length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, 5 from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness. 10

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful 15 celerity; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.°

We learn from the result of this experiment, how for- 20 tunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great 25 degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine 30 of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our country-

men, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious ; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged
5 orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it ; the axe was not among the instruments of its accom-
10 plishment ; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well
15 intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations ; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been
20 altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained,
25 for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained ; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won ; yet
30 it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power ; all its ends

become means ; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, 5 the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, 10 wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it ; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it. 15

When Louis the Fourteenth^o said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state ; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and 20 long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions ; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust,^o and that they cannot be 25 lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian 30 champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for

the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions : —

“Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me TO SEE, — and Ajax asks no more.”^o

5 We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern
10 times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a
15 government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of
20 authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks^o has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength,
25 lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach.
30 Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of

the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking 5 to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident 10 hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and 15 unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America°; and 20 we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet 25 successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and 30 their provision for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to

the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. 5 Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement. 10

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. 15 The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. 20 But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of 25 the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all 30 its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and

popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration. 5

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that 10 with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular 15 governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against 20 the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, 25 authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The princi- 30 ple of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now
5 descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon,^o and Alfred, and
10 other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age
15 be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may
20 not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States^o are one
25 country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may
30 that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration for ever!

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

3. THE ADDRESS AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27, 1860

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK :
The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly
old and familiar ; nor is there anything new in the general
use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty,
it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the in- 5
ferences and observations following that presentation. In
his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in
the *New York Times*, Senator Douglas said : —

Our fathers, when they framed the government
under which we live, understood this question just 10
as well, and even better, than we do now.

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this
discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and
an agreed starting-point for a discussion between Repub-
licans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator 15
Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry : What was the
understanding those fathers had of the question men-
tioned ?

What is the frame of government under which we
live ? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the 20
United States." That Constitution consists of the origi-

nal, framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

5 Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say
10 they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these "thirty-nine," for the present, as being "our
15 fathers who framed the government under which we live."

What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood "just as well, and even better, than we do now"?

It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal
20 authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial
25 form an issue; and this issue — this question — is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood "better than we." Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it — how they
30 expressed that better understanding. . . .

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers "who framed the government under which

we live," who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better, than we do now"; and twenty-one of them — a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine" — so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and willful perjury if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder. . . .

The sum of the whole is that of our thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one — a clear majority of the whole — certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories; while all the rest had probably the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."

But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of "the government under which we live" consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. . . .

It is surely safe to assume that the thirty-nine framers

of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the government
5 under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to
10 slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his under-
15 standing, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare I give not only "our
20 fathers who framed the government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being mis-
25 understood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience — to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our
30 fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand;

and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control 5 as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who 10 framed the government under which we live" were of the same opinion — thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" used and applied prin- 15 ciples, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at 20 the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now." 25

But enough! Let all who believe that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask — all Republicans desire — 30 in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to

be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly, maintained. 5 For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.

And now, if they would listen, — as I suppose they will not, — I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them : You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people ; and I consider that in the general 10 qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to 15 pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to “Black Republicans.” In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of “Black Republicanism” as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable 20 prerequisite — license, so to speak — among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now can you or not be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then 25 be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue ; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof ; and what is it ? Why, that our party has no existence in your section — gets no votes in your 30 section. The fact is substantially true ; but does it prove the issue ? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we

should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion ; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours ; but this brings you to where you ought to have started — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section ; and so meet us as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No! Then you really believe that the principle which “our fathers who framed the government under which we live” thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment’s consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress

enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned 5 it, he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should at some time have a confederacy of free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has 10 since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it? We respect that warn- 15 ing of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it.

But you say you are conservative — eminently conservative — while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not 20 adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live"; while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon 25 that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You are divided on new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are 30 for reviving the foreign slave-trade; some for a congressional slave code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their

limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the judiciary; some for the "gur-reat pur-rinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "popular sovereignty"; but never a man among you is in favor of Federal prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, ¹⁰ whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We ad- ¹⁵ mit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its ²⁰ former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your ²⁵ slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown!! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. ³⁰ If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it,

you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply
5 malicious slander. . . .

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all
10 their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven
15 to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little less than his own execution. . . .

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's Book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be
20 modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling — that sentiment — by breaking up the political
25 organization which rallies around it. . . .

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your constitutional rights.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the
30 mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the government, unless you be allowed to construe and force the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The court has substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court, by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact — the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not "distinctly and expressly

affirmed" in it. Bear in mind, the judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is "distinctly and expressly" affirmed there — "distinctly," that is, not mingled with anything else — "expressly," that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would
10 be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery; and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a
15 "person"; and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor which may be due" — as a debt payable in service or labor. Also it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and
20 slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

To show all this is easy and certain.

When this obvious mistake of the judges shall be brought
25 to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" — the
30 men who made the Constitution — decided this same constitutional question in our favor long ago: decided it without division among themselves when making the deci-

sion; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

To be sure, what a robber demanded of me — my money — was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to the Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the 5 rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know, because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the 10 charge and the denunciation. . . .

These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly — done in acts as well 15 as in words. Silence will not be tolerated — we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must 20 arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our free State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

25 I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone; do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone, — have never disturbed them, — so that, after all, it is what we say which 30 dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not as yet in terms demanded

the overthrow of our free State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and 5 nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right 10 and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, 15 all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality — its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension — its enlargement. All they ask we could 20 readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for 25 desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this? 30

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the neces-

sity arising from its actual presence in the nation ; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let
5 us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong : vain as the search for a
10 man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man ; such as a policy of “don’t care” on a question about which all true men do care ; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous
15 to repentance ; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of
20 destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

4. ADDRESSES IN INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, AND AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

ADDRESS IN INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA,
FEBRUARY 22, 1861

MR. CUYLER: I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to our distracted country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. ¹⁰ I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration. I have pondered over ¹⁵ the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from ²⁰

the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in
5 due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can I will consider myself
10 one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.
15 Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it is forced upon the government. The government will not
20 use force, unless force is used against it.

My friends, this is wholly an unprepared speech. I did not expect to be called on to say a word when I came here. I supposed I was merely to do something toward raising a flag. I may, therefore, have said something
25 indiscreet. [Cries of "No, no."] But I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.

REPLY TO THE MAYOR OF WASHINGTON, D.C.,

FEBRUARY 27, 1861

MR. MAYOR: I thank you, and through you the municipal authorities of this city who accompany you, for

this welcome. And as it is the first time in my life, since the present phase of politics has presented itself in this country, that I have said anything publicly within a region of country where the institution of slavery exists, I will take this occasion to say that I think very much 5 of the ill-feeling that has existed and still exists between the people in the section from which I came and the people here, is dependent upon a misunderstanding of one another. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, Mr. Mayor, and all the gentlemen present, that I have 10 not now, and never have had, any other than as kindly feelings toward you as to the people of my own section. I have not now and never have had any disposition to treat you in any respect otherwise than as my own neighbors. I have not now any purpose to withhold from 15 you any of the benefits of the Constitution under any circumstances, that I would not feel myself constrained to withhold from my own neighbors; and I hope, in a word, that when we become better acquainted, — and I say it with great confidence, — we shall like each other 20 the more. . . .

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

5. FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1861

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

10 Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. 15 Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, 20 directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar

declarations and never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read :

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the 5 rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric 10 depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, 15 I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consist- 20 ently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause — as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up 25 of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions : —

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, 30

in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

5 It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution — to this provision as much
10 as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause “shall be delivered up,” their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass
15 a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one.
20 If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

25 Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the
30 enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that “the citizens of each State shall be en-

titled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States”?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not ⁵ choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find im- ¹⁰ punity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive ¹⁵ branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for a brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the ²⁰ Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the ²⁵ fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever — it being im- ³⁰ possible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a
5 contract may violate it — break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself.
10 The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted
15 and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787 one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was “to form a more perfect Union.”

But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a
20 part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that
25 resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution
30 and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union

be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imports; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best

discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

5 That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not
10 speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate
15 a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from — will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

20 All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of
25 doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view,
30 justify revolution — certainly would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly as-

sured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees, and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other.

If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to a very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink

to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is 5 wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, 10 as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse 15 in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot 20 remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain 25 face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties 30 be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot

fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

5 This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant
10 of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes pre-
15 scribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate
20 with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the
25 Constitution — which amendment, however, I have not seen — has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what
30 I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be applied constitutional law, I

have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you

as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

5 If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to
10 adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have
15 no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have
20 strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be,
25 by the better angels of our nature.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

6. LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, AUGUST 22, 1862.

HON. HORACE GREELEY:

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe 5 to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, 10 I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not 15 save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, 20 and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could

save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about
5 slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe
10 doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-
15 expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

7. REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE WORKING-MEN OF MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, DATED JANUARY 19, 1863

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the New Year. When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election, to preside in the government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosoever the fault, one duty paramount to all others was before me; namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key to all the measures of administration which have been, and to all which will hereafter be, pursued. Under our frame of government and by my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people; but I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or

prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as
15 having been beneficial toward mankind. I have therefore reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances, to some of which you kindly allude, induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practised by the United States, they would encounter
10 no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own
15 country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working-men at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and
20 studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of
25 our disloyal citizens, the working-men of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism,
30 which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and

universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation ; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of 5 friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be 10 my desire to make them, perpetual.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

8. THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, NOVEMBER 19, 1863

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether
5 that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting
10 and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract.
15 The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here
20 dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God,
25 shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

9. SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it — all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war — seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized

in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if

God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

10. LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS, APRIL 11, 1865

WE meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parcelled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skilful officers and brave men, all belong. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part.

By these recent successes the reinauguration of the national authority — reconstruction — which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with — no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mould from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a

small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner, and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly 5 offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana.

In this I have done just so much as, and no more than, 10 the public knows. In the annual message of December, 1863, and in the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, should be acceptable to and sustained by the executive government of the nation. I 15 distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable, and I also distinctly protested that the executive claimed no right to say when or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was in advance submitted 20 to the then Cabinet, and distinctly approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then and in that connection apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the theretofore-excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana; that I should drop the suggestion about ap- 25 prenticeship for freed people, and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members to Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana. 30

The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the procla-

mation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and it is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that, as it applies to Louisiana, every
5 member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it from any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached
10 Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested [in] seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Louisiana. When the message of 1863, with the
15 plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans, General Banks wrote me that he was confident that the people, with his military coöperation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been
20 my only agency in setting up the Louisiana government.

As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public in-
25 terest; but I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it.
30 It would perhaps add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have purposely for-

borne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, 5 whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all — a merely pernicious abstraction.

We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that 10 the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out 15 of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently 20 indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana government rests, would be more 25 satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000, or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of only about 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on 30 those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana govern-

ment, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union, 5 sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some 12,000 voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a 10 free-State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their legislature has already voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, 15 abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State — committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants — and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to 20 make good their committal.

Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: 25 This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how. If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both black and 30 white, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize

and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. 5 The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Con- 10 cede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.

Again, if we reject Louisiana, we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Con- 15 stitution. To meet this proposition it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable, 20 and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State gov- 25 ernment? What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case, that no exclusive and 30 inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would

surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

11. INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1905

No people on earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness in our own strength, but with gratitude to the Giver of Good, who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve so large a measure 5 of well-being and of happiness.° To us as a people it has been granted to lay the foundations of our national life in a new continent. We are the heirs of the ages,° and yet we have had to pay few of the penalties which in old countries are exacted by the dead hand of a bygone 10 civilization. We have not been obliged to fight for our existence against any alien race; and yet our life has called for the vigor and effort without which the manlier and hardier virtues wither away. Under such conditions it would be our own fault if we failed; and the success 15 which we have had in the past, the success which we confidently believe the future will bring, should cause in us no feeling of vainglory, but rather a deep and abiding realization of all which life has offered us; a full acknowledgment of the responsibility which is ours; and a fixed determina- 20 tion to show that under a free government a mighty people can thrive best,° alike as regards the things of the body and the things of the soul.

Much has been given to us, and much will rightfully

be expected from us. We have duties to others^o and duties to ourselves; and we can shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with the other nations of the earth; and we
5 must behave as beseems a people with such responsibilities.

Toward all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship.^o We must show not only in our words but in our deeds that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good will by acting
10 toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of all their rights. But justice and generosity in a nation, as in an individual, count most when shown not by the weak but by the strong. While ever careful to refrain from wronging others, we must be no less insistent that
15 we are not wronged ourselves. We wish peace; but we wish the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness. We wish it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. No weak nation that acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power
20 should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression.

Our relations with the other Powers of the world are important; but still more important are our relations among ourselves. Such growth in wealth, in population,
25 and in power as this nation has seen during the century and a quarter of its national life is inevitably accompanied by a like growth in the problems which are ever before every nation that rises to greatness. Power invariably means both responsibility and danger. Our forefathers
30 faced certain perils^o which we have outgrown. We now face other perils, the very existence of which it was impossible that they should foresee. Modern life is both com-

plex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being. Never before have men tried so vast and formidable an experiment as that of administering the affairs of a continent under the form of a democratic republic.^o The conditions which have told for our marvelous material well-being, which have developed to a very high degree our energy, self-reliance, and individual initiative, have also brought the care and anxiety inseparable from the accumulation of great wealth in industrial centers. Upon the success of our experiment much depends; not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations^o; and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is today, and to the generations yet unborn. There is no good reason why we should fear the future but there is every reason why we should face it seriously, neither hiding from ourselves the gravity of the problems before us nor fearing to approach these problems with the unbending, unflinching purpose to solve them aright.

Yet, after all, though the problems are new, though the tasks set before us differ from the tasks set before our fathers who founded and preserved this Republic, the spirit in which these tasks must be undertaken and these problems faced, if our duty is to be well done, remains essentially unchanged. We know that self-government is difficult.^o We know that no people needs such high traits of character as that people which seeks to govern its affairs aright through the freely expressed will of the freemen who compose it. But we have faith that

we shall not prove false to the memories of the men of the mighty past. They did their work, they left us the splendid heritage we now enjoy. We in our turn have an assured confidence that we shall be able to leave this heritage
5 unwasted and enlarged to our children and our children's children. To do so we must show, not merely in great crises, but in the everyday affairs of life, the qualities of practical intelligence, of courage, of hardihood and endurance, and above all the power of devotion to a lofty
10 ideal, which made great the men who founded this Republic in the days of Washington, which made great the men who preserved this Republic in the days of Abraham Lincoln.

WOODROW WILSON

12. FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

MARCH 4, 1913

THERE has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice President have ⁵ been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds today. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

10

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it ¹⁵ to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, ²⁰ awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real

character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

5 We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of
10 groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its normal force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set
15 the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and
20 accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what
25 we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped
30 thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken,

the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad and the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man^o look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which we meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The

scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our
5 work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered^o and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world violates the just prin-
10 ciples of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits;
15 an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricul-
20 tural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places un-
25 claimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organ-
30 izers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which Government may be put at the service of humanity, in

safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of Government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality 5 of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it 10 that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate 15 parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new 20 day : To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable that we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they 25 are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who ques- 30 tion their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excur-

sions whither they cannot tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where
10 justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokes-
15 men and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication.° Here muster, not the forces of the party, but the forces
20 of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me,° I will not fail them. If they
25 will but counsel and sustain me!

WOODROW WILSON

13. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

DELIVERED IN FRONT OF INDEPENDENCE HALL,
JULY 4, 1914

WE are assembled to celebrate the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the birth of the United States. I suppose that we can more vividly realize the circumstances of that birth standing on this historic spot than it would be possible to realize them anywhere else. The Declaration of Independence was written in Philadelphia; it was adopted in this historic building by which we stand. I have just had the privilege of sitting in the chair° of the great man who presided over the deliberations of those who gave the declaration to the world. My hand rests ¹⁰ at this moment upon the table° upon which the declaration was signed. We can feel that we are almost in the visible and tangible presence of a great historic transaction.

Have you ever read the Declaration of Independence° or attended with close comprehension to the real character ¹⁵ of it when you have heard it read? If you have, you will know that it is not a Fourth of July oration. The Declaration of Independence was a document preliminary to war. It was a vital piece of practical business, not a piece of rhetoric; and if you will pass beyond those preliminary ²⁰ passages which we are accustomed to quote about the rights of men and read into the heart of the document

you will see that it is very express and detailed, that it consists of a series of definite specifications concerning actual public business of the day. Not the business of our day, for the matter with which it deals is past, but
5 the business of that first revolution by which the Nation was set up, the business of 1776. Its general statements, its general declarations can not mean anything to us unless we append to it a similar specific body of particulars as to what we consider the essential business of our own day.

10 Liberty does not consist, my fellow citizens, in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action. Therefore, standing here where the declaration was adopted, reading its businesslike sentences, we ought to ask our-
15 selves what there is in it for us. There is nothing in it for us unless we can translate it into the terms of our own conditions and of our own lives. We must reduce it to what the lawyers call a bill of particulars. It contains a bill of particulars, but the bill of particulars of 1776. If we would
20 keep it alive, we must fill it with a bill of particulars of the year 1914.

The task to which we have constantly to readdress ourselves is the task of proving that we are worthy of the men who drew this great declaration and know what they
25 would have done in our circumstances. Patriotism consists in some very practical things — practical in that they belong to the life of every day, that they wear no extraordinary distinction about them, that they are connected with commonplace duty. The way to be patriotic
30 in America is not only to love America but to love the duty that lies nearest to our hand and know that in performing it we are serving our country. There are some gentlemen

in Washington, for example, at this very moment who are showing themselves very patriotic in a way which does not attract wide attention but seems to belong to mere everyday obligations. The Members of the House and Senate who stay in hot Washington to maintain a quorum 5 of the Houses and transact the all-important business of the Nation are doing an act of patriotism. I honor them for it, and I am glad to stay there and stick by them until the work is done.

It is patriotic, also, to learn what the facts of our na- 10 tional life are and to face them with candor. I have heard a great many facts stated about the present business conditions of this country, for example — a great many allegations of fact, at any rate, but the allegations do not tally with one another. And yet I know that truth always 15 matches with truth; and when I find some insisting that everything is going wrong and others insisting that everything is going right, and when I know from a wide observation of the general circumstances of the country taken as a whole that things are going extremely well, I wonder what 20 those who are crying out that things are wrong are trying to do. Are they trying to serve the country, or are they trying to serve something smaller than the country? Are they trying to put hope into the hearts of the men who work and toil every day, or are they trying to plant dis- 25 couragement and despair in those hearts? And why do they cry that everything is wrong and yet do nothing to set it right? If they love America and anything is wrong amongst us, it is their business to put their hand with ours to the task of setting it right. When the facts are known 30 and acknowledged, the duty of all patriotic men is to accept them in candor and to address themselves hopefully and

confidently to the common counsel which is necessary to act upon them wisely and in universal concert.

I have had some experiences in the last fourteen months which have not been entirely reassuring. It was universally admitted, for example, my fellow citizens, that the banking system^o of this country needed reorganization. We set the best minds that we could find to the task of discovering the best method of reorganization. But we met with hardly anything but criticism from the bankers
10 of the country; we met with hardly anything but resistance from the majority of those at least who spoke at all concerning the matter. And yet so soon as that act^o was passed there was a universal chorus of applause, and the very men who had opposed the measure joined in that
15 applause. If it was wrong the day before it was passed, why was it right the day after it was passed? Where had been the candor of criticism not only, but the concert of counsel which makes legislative action vigorous and safe and successful?

20 It is not patriotic to concert measures against one another; it is patriotic to concert measures for one another.

In one sense the Declaration of Independence has lost its significance. It has lost its significance as a declaration
25 of national independence. Nobody outside of America believed when it was uttered that we could make good our independence; now nobody anywhere would dare to doubt that we are independent and can maintain our independence. As a declaration of independence, therefore,
30 it is a mere historic document. Our independence is a fact so stupendous that it can be measured only by the size and energy and variety and wealth and power of one

of the greatest nations in the world. But it is one thing to be independent and it is another thing to know what to do with your independence. It is one thing to come to your majority and another thing to know what you are going to do with your life and your energies; and one of 5 the most serious questions for sober-minded men to address themselves to in the United States is this: What are we going to do with the influence and power of this great Nation? Are we going to play the old rôle of using that power for our aggrandizement and material benefit only? 10 You know what that may mean. It may upon occasion mean that we shall use it to make the people of other nations suffer in the way in which we said it was intolerable to suffer when we uttered our Declaration of Independence. 15

The Department of State at Washington is constantly called upon to back up the commercial enterprises and the industrial enterprises of the United States in foreign countries, and it at one time went so far in that direction that all its diplomacy came to be designated as "dollar 20 diplomacy."° It was called upon to support every man who wanted to earn anything anywhere if he was an American. But there ought to be a limit to that. There is no man who is more interested than I am in carrying the enterprise of American business men to every quarter of the globe. 25 I was interested in it long before I was suspected of being a politician. I have been preaching it year after year as the great thing that lay in the future for the United States, to show her wit and skill and enterprise and influence in every country in the world. But observe the limit 30 to all that which is laid upon us perhaps more than upon any other nation in the world. We set this Nation up, at

any rate we professed to set it up, to vindicate the rights of men. We did not name any differences between one race and another. We did not set up any barriers against any particular people.^o We opened our gates to all the world and said, "Let all men who wish to be free come to us and they will be welcome." We said, "This independence of ours is not a selfish thing for our own exclusive private use. It is for everybody to whom we can find the means of extending it." We can not with that oath taken in our youth, we can not with that great ideal set before us when we were a young people and numbered only a scant 3,000,000, take upon ourselves, now that we are 100,000,000 strong, any other conception of duty than we then entertained. If American enterprise in foreign countries, particularly in those foreign countries which are not strong enough to resist us, takes the shape of imposing upon and exploiting the mass of the people of that country it ought to be checked and not encouraged. I am willing to get anything for an American that money and enterprise can obtain except the suppression of the rights of other men. I will not help any man buy a power which he ought not to exercise over his fellow beings.

You know, my fellow countrymen, what a big question there is in Mexico.^o Eighty-five per cent of the Mexican people have never been allowed to have any genuine participation in their own Government or to exercise any substantial rights with regard to the very land they live upon. All the rights that men most desire have been exercised by the other fifteen per cent. Do you suppose that that circumstance is not sometimes in my thought? I know that the American people have a heart that will beat just as strong for those millions in Mexico as it will

beat, or has beaten, for any other millions elsewhere in the world, and that when once they conceive what is at stake in Mexico they will know what ought to be done in Mexico. I hear a great deal said about the loss of property in Mexico and the loss of the lives of foreigners, and I deplore these 5 things with all my heart. Undoubtedly, upon the conclusion of the present disturbed conditions in Mexico those who have been unjustly deprived of their property or in any wise unjustly put upon ought to be compensated. Men's individual rights have no doubt been invaded, and 10 the invasion of those rights has been attended by many deplorable circumstances which ought sometime, in the proper way, to be accounted for. But back of it all is the struggle of a people to come into its own, and while we look upon the incidents in the foreground let us not 15 forget the great tragic reality in the background which towers above the whole picture.

A patriotic American is a man who is not niggardly and selfish in the things that he enjoys that make for human liberty and the rights of man. He wants to share 20 them with the whole world, and he is never so proud of the great flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty. I would be ashamed of this flag if it did anything outside America that we would not permit 25 it to do inside of America.

The world is becoming more complicated every day, my fellow citizens. No man ought to be foolish enough to think that he understands it all. And, therefore, I am glad that there are some simple things in the world. 30 One of the simple things is principle. Honesty is a perfectly simple thing. It is hard for me to believe that in

most circumstances when a man has a choice of ways he does not know which is the right way and which is the wrong way. No man who has chosen the wrong way ought even to come into Independence Square; it is holy
5 ground which he ought not to tread upon. He ought not to come where immortal voices have uttered the great sentences of such a document as this Declaration of Independence upon which rests the liberty of a whole nation.

And so I say that it is patriotic sometimes to prefer
10 the honor of the country to its material interest. Would you rather be deemed by all the nations of the world incapable of keeping your treaty obligations^o in order that you might have free tolls for American ships? The treaty under which we gave up that right may have been
15 a mistaken treaty, but there was no mistake about its meaning.

When I have made a promise as a man I try to keep it, and I know of no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation in the world is the nation
20 that can and will keep its promises even to its own hurt. And I want to say parenthetically that I do not think anybody was hurt. I cannot be enthusiastic for subsidies to a monopoly, but let those who are enthusiastic for subsidies ask themselves whether they prefer subsidies to
25 unsullied honor.

The most patriotic man, ladies and gentlemen, is sometimes the man who goes in the direction that he thinks right even when he sees half the world against him. It is the dictate of patriotism to sacrifice yourself if you think
30 that that is the path of honor and of duty. Do not blame others if they do not agree with you. Do not die with bitterness in your heart because you did not convince the

rest of the world, but die happy because you believe that you tried to serve your country by not selling your soul. Those were grim days, the days of 1776. Those gentlemen did not attach their names to the Declaration of Independence on this table expecting a holiday on the next 5 day, and that 4th of July was not itself a holiday. They attached their signatures to that significant document knowing that if they failed it was certain that every one of them would hang for the failure. They were committing treason in the interest of the liberty of 3,000,000 10 people in America. All the rest of the world was against them and smiled with cynical incredulity at the audacious undertaking. Do you think that if they could see this great Nation now they would regret anything that they then did to draw the gaze of a hostile world upon them? 15 Every idea must be started by somebody, and it is a lonely thing to start anything. Yet if it is in you, you must start it if you have a man's blood in you and if you love the country that you profess to be working for.

I am sometimes very much interested when I see gentle- 20 men supposing that popularity is the way to success in America. The way to success in this great country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody except God and His final verdict. If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did 25 not believe that, I would not believe that people can govern themselves. If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as the tribunal of God, I could not believe in popular government. But I do believe these 30 things, and, therefore, I earnestly believe in the democracy not only of America but of every awakened people

that wishes and intends to govern and control its own affairs.

It is very inspiring, my friends, to come to this that may be called the original fountain of independence and liberty in America and here drink draughts of patriotic feeling which seem to renew the very blood in one's veins. Down in Washington sometimes when the days are hot and the business presses intolerably and there are so many things to do that it does not seem possible to do anything in the way it ought to be done, it is always possible to lift one's thought above the task of the moment, and as it were, to realize that great thing of which we are all parts, the great body of American feeling and American principle. No man could do the work that has to be done in Washington if he allowed himself to be separated from that body of principle. He must make himself feel that he is a part of the people of the United States, that he is trying to think not only for them, but with them, and then he can not feel lonely. He not only can not feel lonely but he can not feel afraid of anything.

My dream is that as the years go on and the world knows more and more of America it will also drink at these fountains of youth and renewal; that it also will turn to America for those moral inspirations which lie at the basis of all freedom; that the world will never fear America unless it feels that it is engaged in some enterprise which is inconsistent with the rights of humanity; and that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity.

What other great people has devoted itself to this ex-

alted ideal? To what other nation in the world can all eyes look for an instant sympathy that thrills the whole body politic when men anywhere are fighting for their rights? I do not know that there will ever be a declaration of independence and of grievances for mankind, but 5
I believe that if any such document is ever drawn it will be drawn in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, and that America has lifted high the light which will shine unto all generations and guide the feet of mankind to the goal of justice and liberty and peace. 10

WOODROW WILSON

14. THE PAN-AMERICAN PROGRAM

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON,
JANUARY 6, 1916

THE Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It has always been maintained, and always will be maintained, upon her own responsibility. But the Monroe Doctrine^o demanded
5 merely that European Governments should not attempt to extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic. It did not disclose the use which the United States intended to make of her power on this side of the Atlantic. It was a hand held up in warning, but there
10 was no promise in it of what America was going to do with the implied and partial protectorate which she apparently was trying to set up on this side of the water, and I believe you will sustain me in the statement that it has been fears and suspicions on this score which have
15 hitherto prevented the greater intimacy and confidence and trust between the Americans.^o The states of America have not been certain what the United States would do with her power. That doubt must be removed. And latterly there has been a very frank interchange of views
20 between the authorities in Washington and those who represented the other states of this hemisphere, an interchange of views charming and hopeful, because based

upon an increasingly sure appreciation of the spirit in which they were undertaken. These gentlemen have seen that, if America is to come into her own, into her legitimate own, in a world of peace and order, she must establish the foundations of amity, so that no one will hereafter doubt 5 them.

I hope and I believe that this can be accomplished. These conferences have enabled me to foresee how it will be accomplished. It will be accomplished, in the first place, by the states of America uniting in guaranteeing to 10 each other absolute political independence and territorial integrity. In the second place, and as a necessary corollary to that, guaranteeing the agreement to settle all pending boundary disputes as soon as possible and by amicable process; by agreeing that all disputes among them- 15 . selves, should they unhappily arise, will be handled by patient, impartial investigation and settled by arbitration °; and the agreement necessary to the peace of the Americas, that no state of either continent will permit revolutionary expeditions against another state to be 20 fitted out on its territory, and that they will prohibit the exportation of the munitions of war ° for the purpose of supplying revolutionists against neighboring Governments.

You see what our thought is, gentlemen, not only the international peace of America, but the domestic peace 25 . of America. If American states are constantly in ferment, if any of them are constantly in ferment, there will be a standing threat to their relations with one another. It is just as much to our interest to assist each other to the orderly processes within our own borders as it is to orderly 30 processes in our controversies with one another. These are very practical suggestions which have sprung up in

the minds of thoughtful men, and I, for my part, believe that they are going to lead the way to something that America has prayed for for many a generation. For they are based, in the first place, so far as the stronger states
5 are concerned, upon the handsome principle of self-restraint and respect for the rights of everybody. They are based upon the principles of absolute political equality among the states, equality of right, not equality of indulgence.

10 They are based, in short, upon the solid, eternal foundations of justice and humanity. No man can turn away from these things without turning away from the hope of the world. These are things, ladies and gentlemen, for which the world has hoped and waited with prayerful
15 heart. God grant that it may be granted to America to lift this light on high for the illumination of the world.

WOODROW WILSON

15. THE TRADITIONS OF AMERICA

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS, APRIL 17, 1916

TRADITION is a handsome thing in proportion as we live up to it. If we fall away from the tradition of the fathers, we have dishonored them. If we forget the tradition of the fathers, we have changed our character; we have lost an old impulse; we have become 5 unconscious of the principles in which the life of the nation itself is rooted and grounded. . . . No other nation was ever born into the world with the purpose of serving the rest of the world just as much as it served itself. 10

The purpose of this nation was in one sense to afford 10 an asylum to men of all classes and kinds who desired to be free and to take part in the administration of a self-governed Commonwealth. It was founded in order that men of every sort should have proof given that a Commonwealth of that sort was practicable, not only, but could 15 win its standing of distinction and power among the nations of the world, and America will have forgotten her traditions whenever upon any occasion she fights merely for herself under such circumstances as will show that she has forgotten to fight for all mankind. And the only 20 excuse that America can ever have for the assertion of her physical force is that she asserts it in behalf of the interest of humanity.

What a splendid thing it is to have so singular a tradition — a tradition of unselfishness! When America ceases to be unselfish, she will cease to be America. When she forgets the traditions of devotion to human rights in
5 general, which gave spirit and impulse to her founders, she will have lost her title deeds to her nationality.

WOODROW WILSON

16. AMERICANIZATION AND LOYALTY

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE CONVENTION ON CITIZENSHIP, WILSON NORMAL SCHOOL BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 13, 1916.

I HAVE come here for the simple purpose of expressing my very deep interest in what these conferences are intended to attain. It is not fair to the great multitudes of hopeful men and women who press into this country from other countries that we should leave them without 5 that friendly and intimate instruction which will enable them very soon after they come to find out what America is like at heart and what America is intended for among the nations of the world.

I believe that the chief school that these people must 10 attend after they get here is the school which all of us attend, which is furnished by the life of the communities in which we live and the nation to which we belong. It has been a very touching thought to me sometimes to think of the hopes which have drawn these people to 15 America. I have no doubt that many a simple soul has been thrilled by that great statue standing in the harbor of New York and seeming to lift the light of liberty for the guidance of the feet of men; and I can imagine that they have expected here something ideal in the treatment 20

that they will receive, something ideal in the laws which they would have to live under, and it has caused me many a time to turn upon myself the eye of examination to see whether there burned in me the true light of the American
5 spirit which they expected to find here. It is easy, my fellow-citizens, to communicate physical lessons, but it is very difficult to communicate spiritual lessons. America was intended to be a spirit among the nations of the world, and it is the purpose of conferences like this to find out
10 the best way to introduce the newcomers to this spirit, and by that very interest in them to enhance and purify in ourselves the thing that ought to make America great and not only ought to make her great, but ought to make her exhibit a spirit unlike any other nation in the world.

15 I have never been among those who felt comfortable in boasting of the superiority of America over other countries. The way to cure yourself of that is to travel in other countries and find out how much of nobility and character and fine enterprise there is everywhere in the
20 world. The most that America can hope to do is to show, it may be, the finest example, not the only example, of the things that ought to benefit and promote the progress of the world.

So my interest in this movement is as much an interest
25 in ourselves as in those whom we are trying to Americanize, because if we are genuine Americans they cannot avoid the infection; whereas, if we are not genuine Americans, there will be nothing to infect them with, and no amount of teaching, no amount of exposition of the Constitution, —
30 which I find very few persons understand, — no amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we our-

selves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty. My interest in this movement is, therefore, a two-fold interest. I believe it will assist us to become self-conscious in respect of the fundamental ideas of American life. When you ask a man to be loyal to a government, if he comes 5 from some foreign countries, his idea is that he is expected to be loyal to a certain set of persons like a ruler or a body set in authority over him, but that is not the American idea. Our idea is that he is to be loyal to certain objects in life, and that the only reason he has a President 10 and a Congress and a Governor and a State Legislature and courts is that the community shall have instrumentalities by which to promote those objects. It is a co-operative organization expressing itself in this Constitution, expressing itself in these laws, intending to 15 express itself in the exposition of those laws by the courts; and the idea of America is not so much that men are to be restrained and punished by the law as instructed and guided by the law. That is the reason so many hopeful reforms come to grief. A law cannot 20 work until it expresses the spirit of the community for which it is enacted, and if you try to enact into law what expresses only the spirit of a small coterie or of a small minority, you know, or at any rate you ought to know, beforehand that it is not going to work. The object of 25 the law is that there, written upon these pages, the citizen should read the record of the experience of this state and nation; what they have concluded it is necessary for them to do because of the life they have lived and the things that they have discovered to be elements in that 30 life. So that we ought to be careful to maintain a government at which the immigrant can look with the closest

scrutiny and to which he should be at liberty to address this question: "You declare this to be a land of liberty and of equality and of justice; have you made it so by your law?" We ought to be able in our schools, in our night
5 schools, and in every other method of instructing these people, to show them that that has been our endeavor. We cannot conceal from them long the fact that we are just as human as any other nation, that we are just as selfish, that there are just as many mean people amongst
10 us as anywhere else, that there are just as many people here who want to take advantage of other people as you can find in other countries, just as many cruel people, just as many people heartless when it comes to maintaining and promoting their own interest; but you can show that
15 our object is to get these people in harness and see to it that they do not do any damage and are not allowed to indulge the passions which would bring injustice and calamity at last upon a nation whose object is spiritual and not material.

20 America has built up a great body of wealth. America has become, from the physical point of view, one of the most powerful nations in the world, a nation which if it took the pains to do so, could build that power up into one of the most formidable instruments in the world,
25 one of the most formidable instruments of force, but which has no other idea than to use its force for ideal objects and not for self-aggrandizement.

We have been disturbed recently, my fellow-citizens, by certain symptoms which have showed themselves
30 in our body politic. Certain men, — I have never believed a great number, — born in other lands, have in recent months thought more of those lands than they

have of the honor and interest of the government under which they are now living. They have even gone so far as to draw apart in spirit and in organization^o from the rest of us to accomplish some special object of their own. I am not here going to utter any criticism of these people, 5 but I want to say this, that such a thing as that is absolutely incompatible with the fundamental idea of loyalty, and that loyalty is not a self-pleasing virtue. I am not bound to be loyal to the United States to please myself. I am bound to be loyal to the United States because 10 I live under its laws and am its citizen, and whether it hurts me or whether it benefits me, I am obliged to be loyal. Loyalty means nothing unless it has at its heart the absolute principle of self-sacrifice. Loyalty means that you ought to be ready to sacrifice every interest 15 that you have, and your life itself, if your country calls upon you to do so, and that is the sort of loyalty which ought to be inculcated into these newcomers, that they are not to be loyal only so long as they are pleased, but that, having once entered into this sacred relationship, 20 they are bound to be loyal whether they are pleased or not; and that loyalty which is merely self-pleasing is only self-indulgence and selfishness. No man has ever risen to the real stature of spiritual manhood until he has found that it is finer to serve somebody else than it is to 25 serve himself.

These are the conceptions which we ought to teach the newcomers into our midst, and we ought to realize that the life of every one of us is part of the schooling, and that we cannot preach loyalty unless we set the 30 example, that we cannot profess things with any influence upon others unless we practice them also. This process

of Americanization is going to be a process of self-examination, a process of purification, a process of rededication to the things which America represents and is proud to represent. And it takes a great deal more
5 courage and steadfastness, my fellow-citizens, to represent ideal things than to represent anything else. It is easy to lose your temper, and hard to keep it. It is easy to strike and sometimes very difficult to refrain from striking, and I think you will agree with me that we are most justified
10 in being proud of doing the things that are hard to do and not the things that are easy. You do not settle things quickly by taking what seems to be the quickest way to settle them. You may make the complication just that much the more profound and inextricable, and, therefore,
15 what I believe America should exalt above everything else is the sovereignty of thoughtfulness and sympathy and vision as against the grosser impulses of mankind. No nation can live without vision, and no vision will exalt a nation except the vision of real liberty and real justice
20 and purity of conduct.

WOODROW WILSON

17. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE TIME OF THE FORMAL
ACCEPTANCE BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT OF THE
MEMORIAL GIFT TO THE NATION OF THE LINCOLN
BIRTHPLACE FARM AT HODGENVILLE, KENTUCKY,
SEPTEMBER 4, 1916.

No more significant memorial^o could have been presented to the nation than this. It expresses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government. 5 How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no 10 tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind. Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special 15 tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle even, and its own

life of adventure and of training. Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and
10 countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

Here, no less, hides the mystery of democracy. Who
15 shall guess this secret of nature and providence and a free polity? Whatever the vigor and vitality of the stock from which he sprang, its mere vigor and soundness do not explain where this man got his great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant
20 sympathy, the mind that sat enthroned behind those brooding, melancholy eyes, whose vision swept many an horizon which those about him dreamed not of, — that mind that comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease
25 of one to the manner born, — or that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life. This is the sacred mystery of democracy; that its richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and in circumstances amidst which they are
30 the least expected. This is a place alike of mystery and of reassurance.

It is likely that in a society ordered otherwise than our

own Lincoln could not have found himself or the path of fame and power upon which he walked serenely to his death. In this place it is right that we should remind ourselves of the solid and striking facts upon which our faith in democracy is founded. Many another man besides 5 Lincoln has served the nation in its highest places of counsel and of action whose origins were as humble as his. Though the greatest example of the universal energy, richness, stimulation, and force of democracy, he is only one example among many. The permeating and all- 10 pervasive virtue of the freedom which challenges us in America to make the most of every gift and power we possess every page of our history serves to emphasize and illustrate. Standing here in this place, it seems almost the whole of the stirring story. 15

Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between beginning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was un- 20 affectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here. Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man, — I would rather say of a spirit, — like Lincoln the question *where* he was is of little signifi- 25 cance, that it is always *what* he was that really arrests our thought and takes hold of our imagination. It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lincoln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world, — a very rough and exacting discipline for him, an indispensable 30 discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit

got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation. The test of every American must always be, not where he is, but what he is. That, also, is of the essence of democracy, and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome, — after we have recognized them.

I have read many biographies of Lincoln; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of near-by friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself "in his habit as he lived"; but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had in fact penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it. That brooding spirit had no real familiars. I get the impression that it never spoke out

in complete self-revelation, and that it could not reveal itself completely to anyone. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communing with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on. There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of its own silently assembling and deploying thoughts. 10

I have come here today, not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln; he stands in need of none, but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the nation of the place of his birth and origin. Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must constantly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them. The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose. The commands of democracy are as imperative as its 20 25 30

privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet.

5 We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great nation which shelters and nurtures us.

WOODROW WILSON

18. THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

PART OF THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE
OF THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 22, 1917

IF the peace presently to be made is to endure it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee ⁵ can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power,^o who will guarantee, ¹⁰ who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement?

Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized ¹⁵ common peace.

* * * * *

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor

imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak.

Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable — because I wish frankly to uncover realities.

Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. 5 The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people 10 now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general 15 guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas^o is the *sine qua non* of 20 peace, equality, and coöperation.

No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances 25 for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations 30 is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the

freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments^o and the coöperation of the navies of
5 the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation.

Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must
10 be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating
15 armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless
20 contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve
25 and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and
30 hold nothing back.

I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Govern-

ment, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? 5

I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear. 10

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is 15 clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should 20 with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people shall be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unbindered, un- 25 threatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and 30 selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance

in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

5 I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation
10 of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the
15 principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind, and must prevail.

WOODROW WILSON

19. BREAKING WITH GERMANY

DELIVERED BEFORE CONGRESS FEBRUARY 3, 1917, ON
THE OCCASION OF BREAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
WITH GERMANY

THE Imperial German Government, on the 31st of January, announced to this Government and to the Governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines 5 against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April^o last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the 10 cross-Channel passenger-steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government 15 in which it made the following declaration :

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United 20

States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever
10 diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

In reply to this declaration the German Government gave this Government the following assurances :

The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration
15 to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes itself, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies
20 the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders :

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and with-
25 out the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral inter-
30 est, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a

demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is 5 determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas from whatever charter it has been violated.

To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding :

10

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic nego- 15 tiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible to that construction. In order, however, to avoid 20 any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas 25 should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint ; absolute, not relative.

30

To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement :

5 The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government
10 of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente Allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

15 Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to France, etc. All
20 ships met within the zone will be sunk.

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note
25 of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not
30 declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn, and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt.

Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded, if American ships and American lives should, in fact, be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may

be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will
5 take the same course.

I do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people^o and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.
10 We shall not believe that they are hostile to us until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in
15 action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago — seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged
20 to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany.

WOODROW WILSON

20. SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE INAUGURAL EXERCISES HELD ON
MARCH 5, 1917

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

The four years^o which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequence. Perhaps no equal period in our history has been so fruitful of important reforms in our economic and industrial life ⁵ or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, liberate and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift ¹⁰ our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests. It is a record of singular variety and singular distinction. But I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself and will be of increasing influence as the years go by. This is not the time for retrospect. It ¹⁵ is time, rather, to speak our thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future.

Although we have centered counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ²⁰

ourselves four years ago, other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention, matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence.

It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension
10 they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people.^o We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our
15 thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics, and our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of
20 it was out of the question.

And yet all the while we have been conscious that we were not part of it. In that consciousness, despite many divisions, we have drawn closer together. We have been deeply wronged upon the seas,^o but we have
25 not wished to wrong or injure in return; have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself. As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been
30 clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind — fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace. We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim 5 to a certain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality,^o since it seems that in no other way can we demonstrate what it is we insist upon and cannot forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose and desire, 10 to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. 15 We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

There are many things still to do at home to clarify 20 our own politics and give new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve; but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for stage and in coöperation with the wide 25 and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for those things. They will follow in the immediate wake of the war itself and will set civilization up again. We are provincials no longer.^o The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through 30 which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own for-

tunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

And yet we are not the less Americans on that account.

We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent.

We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things^o we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace :

10 That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance ; †

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege ;

15 That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power ;

That Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, 20 or power of the family of nations ;

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms ;

25 That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety ;

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences 30 proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution^o in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow countrymen; they are your own, part and parcel of your own thinking and your own motive in affairs. They spring up native amongst us. Upon this as a platform of purpose and of action we can stand together. 5

And it is imperative that we should stand together. We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world. In their ardent heat we shall, in God's providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of the errant humors of 10 party and of private interest, and shall stand forth in the days to come with a new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, the high purpose of the nation in his own mind, ruler of his own will and desire. 15

I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in affairs. I know now what the 20 task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me ° by their confidence and their 25 counsel. The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America — an America united in feeling, in purpose, and in its vision of duty, of opportunity, and of service. We are to beware of all men who would turn 30 the tasks and the necessities of the nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private

power; beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people; beware that our Government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts. United alike in the conception of our
5 duty and in the high resolve to perform it in the face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves ° to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance, and your united aid. The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be
10 dispelled and we shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves — to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.

WOODROW WILSON

21. GERMANY MAKES WAR ON THE UNITED STATES

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE CONGRESS, APRIL 2, 1917

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.^o 5

On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you^o the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink 10 every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier 15 in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us^o that passenger-boats should not be sunk, and that due warning would be given to all other vessels 20 which its submarines might seek to destroy where no

resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats.

The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, 10 their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning, and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital-ships° and ships carrying relief to the sorely 15 bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of 20 principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would, in fact, be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the 25 attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion, and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up with meager enough results, indeed, after all 30 was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view at least of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity, and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, 10 men, women, and children engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, ° been deemed innocent and legitimate.

Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be.

15

The present German warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships ° have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral 20 and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a mod- 25 eration of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a Nation. We must put excited feeling away.

Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the 30 vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against 5 unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has 10 assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea.

It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity, indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before 15 they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no 20 modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant-ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be.

25 Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effective- 30 ness of belligerents.

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission

and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrongs; they reach out to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war ¹⁰ against the Government and people of the United States. That it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ ¹⁵ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany, and ²⁰ as incident to that the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs.

It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the ²⁵ materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it ³⁰ with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.

It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed.

It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees measures for the

accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them.

I have exactly the same thing in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February.

Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and of justice in the life of the world against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will

be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

5 We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

10 It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use
15 their fellow-men as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs ° which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such
20 designs can be successfully worked only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions.

Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within
25 the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

30 A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith

within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away, the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only 5 free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world 10 by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia?

Russia was known by those who know it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships 15 of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life.

Autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, 20 in character or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their native majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League 25 of Honor.

One of the things that have served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and 30 even our offices of Government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity

of council, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce.

Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began, and it is, unhappily, not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction, of official agents of the Imperial German Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there

can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world.

We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish objects, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has indeed avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austro-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna.

We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, — exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are, in fact, 5 loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a 10 different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

15

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the 20 most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority 25 to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

30

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we

have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

WOODROW WILSON

22. WAYS TO SERVE THE NATION DURING WAR

A PROCLAMATION TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,
APRIL 15, 1917

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an efficient war footing and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things and how many kinds and

elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting, — the things without which mere fighting
5 would be fruitless :

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall
10 be fighting :

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our
15 factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are coöperating in Europe, and to keep the
20 looms and manufactories there in raw material ; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea ; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there ; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts ; loco-
25 motives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces ; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service ; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves but cannot now afford the men, the
30 materials, or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the fac-

tories must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and 5 their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great 10 international Service Army, — a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of freemen everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands; of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be 15 excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word 20 to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms; the supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are coöperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of food stuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, 25 is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall 30 have come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in

America. Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure, rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their
5 land or that will bring about the most effectual coöperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done and done immediately to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and
10 old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty — to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to
15 plant abundant food stuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are
20 fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to coöperate.
25 They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seeds and adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery as well as of the crops themselves when
30 harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those

who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of the great Democracy and we shall not fall short of it.

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our food stuffs or our raw materials of 5 manufacture or the products of our mills and factories; the eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all 10 others, to forego unusual profits to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of the people of every sort and 15 station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it 20 that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service"; and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must 25 be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does; the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies 30 and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to

be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together.

WOODROW WILSON

23. MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

MAY 30, 1917

THE program has conferred an unmerited dignity upon the remarks I am going to make by calling them an address, because I am not here to deliver an address; I am here merely to show in my official capacity the sympathy of this great Government with the object of this occasion, and also to speak just a word of the sentiment that is in my own heart.

Any Memorial Day° of this sort is, of course, a day touched with sorrowful memory, and yet I for one do not see how we can have any thought of pity for the men whose memory we honor to-day. I do not pity them. I envy them, rather, because theirs is a great work for liberty accomplished and we are in the midst of a work unfinished, testing our strength where their strength already has been tested. There is a touch of sorrow, but there is a touch of reassurance also in a day like this, because we know how the men of America have responded to the call of the cause of liberty, and it fills our minds with a perfect assurance that that response will come again in equal measure, with equal majesty, and with a result which will hold the attention of all mankind.

When you reflect upon it, these men who died to preserve the Union, died to preserve the instrument which

we are now using to serve the world — a free nation espousing the cause of human liberty. In one sense the great struggle into which we have now entered is an American struggle, because it is in the sense of American honor and American rights, but it is something even greater than that; it is a world struggle. It is a struggle of men who love liberty everywhere, and in this cause America will show herself greater than ever because she will rise to a greater thing. We have said in the beginning that we planned this great Government that men who wish freedom might have a place of refuge and a place where their hope could be realized and now, having established such a Government, having preserved such a Government, having indicated the power of such a Government, we are saying to all mankind, “We did not set this Government up in order that we might have a selfish and separate liberty, for we are now ready to come to your assistance and fight out upon the fields of the world the cause of human liberty.” In this thing America attains her full dignity and the full fruition of her great purpose.

No man can be glad that such things have happened as we have witnessed in these last fateful years, but perhaps it may be permitted to us to be glad that we have an opportunity to show the principles that we profess to be living, principles that live in our hearts, and to have a chance by the pouring out of our blood and treasure to vindicate the things that we have professed. For, my friends, the real fruition of life is to do the things we have said we wished to do. There are times when work seems empty and only action seems great. Such a time has come, and in the providence of God America will once more have an opportunity to show to the world that she was born to serve mankind.

WOODROW WILSON

24. THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE AND NEW GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA, JUNE 9, 1917

IN view of the approaching visit of the American delegation° to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of coöperation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the 5 freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during 10 the past few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment. 15

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own sub- 20 jects to whom they have never been just or fair or even

tolerant, to promote a propaganda° on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using.

5 The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggres-
10 sions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up to Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private
15 projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad° and beyond. Government after government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The
20 meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being rewoven or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial German Government and those
25 whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the *status quo ante*.° It was the *status quo ante* out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the Empire and its
30 widespread domination and influence outside of that Empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle,^o and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and

treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty.

5 The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us: if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous, but we cannot afford then or now to be weak or omit any single

10 guarantee of justice and security.

WOODROW WILSON

25. OUR FLAG

FLAG DAY ADDRESS, JUNE 14, 1917

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

We meet to celebrate Flag Day° because this flag which we honor, and under which we serve, is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we 5 give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us — speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of 10 the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth, and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw 15 the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away — for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something 20 for which it has never sought before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose for which this great

flag has never been carried before or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

5 These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose
10 it is we seek to serve.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and
15 of our honor as a sovereign Government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf.

20 When they found that they could not do that their agents diligently spread sedition among us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance — and some of these agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our
25 own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico^o to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her — and that, not by indirection but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office
30 in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to ap-

proach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

10

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany,^o who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller states in particular and

30

the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little
5 attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their class rooms, and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy, as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual
10 plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigues, lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan states with
15 German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her Government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single
20 step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

25 Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia, and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states
30 of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally

cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else. It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which 5 could be kept together only by force — Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Turks, Armenians — the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These peoples did not 10 wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, and would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compul- 15 sion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution. Look how things stand. Aus- 20 tria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a 25 single Power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Rumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships^o lying 30 in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their

orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That Government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet, and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified

themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it, an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a Government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction — Socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the

weight of the great military empire they will have set up ; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or coöperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported ; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom, and all Europe will arm for the next, the final, struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial
10 German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters, declare this a foreign
15 war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions, set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world, appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations and seek to under-
20 mine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have
25 already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries ; and the great fact that stands out
30 above all the rest is that this is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government among all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the

peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included, and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age 5 through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments — a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must 10 wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure 15 for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people. 20

WOODROW WILSON

26. TESTING A PLAN OF PEACE

THE REPLY TO THE POPE

WASHINGTON, D. C., AUGUST 27, 1917.

TO HIS HOLINESS BENEDICTUS XV, POPE:

In acknowledgment of the communication of your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit
5 the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted
10 it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts, and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms
15 he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to
20 the *status quo ante bellum* and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration;

that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan states, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier, either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood — not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malignant influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world.

Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments — the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful — their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is

it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples, on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world — to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people — rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation, could now depend on.

We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers.

God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

WOODROW WILSON

27. STRUGGLING WITH AUTOCRACY

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS DECEMBER 4, 1917

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to detail or even to summarize these 5 events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties, and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we 10 shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American 15 to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our 20 object is, of course, to win the war, and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is

won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a nation we are united in spirit and intention.

I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent — who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it, with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut about their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once and for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise — deeply and indignantly impatient — but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make

it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force, which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace — when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe, and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the basis of law and of covenant for the life of the world — we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice — justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to the right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray, and the people of every other country their agents could reach, in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

- 10 But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or
15 leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations.
20 But when that has been done — as, God willing, it assuredly will be — we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

- Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of
30 materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I

counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it.

We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium, which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own — over the great empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia — which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise, we did not grudge or oppose, but admired rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manufacture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms, by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated.

The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the

impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-
5 Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose nor desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope
10 to secure for the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties, and our attitude and
15 purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind.

We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to
20 live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany^o are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and
25 existence of their empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emanci-
30 pation from fear, along with our own, from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threaten-

ing the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments.

It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself, by processes which would assuredly set in.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That of course. But they cannot and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna.

The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege

and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life.

German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. 10 They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its 15 conclusions will run with those tides.

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I cannot help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have 20 been once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have 25 recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided.

The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the 30 dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It cannot be uttered too plainly or too often.

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates^o in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world, and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

20

What shall we do, then, to push this great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success, and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.^o Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I

have just addressed to you? It is not. It is in fact the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business.

The Government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us and not heed any others.

The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies; and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the Presidential procla-

mations relating to enemy aliens promulgated under Section 4067 of the Revised Statutes and providing appropriate punishment; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many 5 alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the Government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions where they could be made to 10 work as other criminals do.

Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the Government to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained 15 selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering^o in several branches of industry it still runs impudently rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a good deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed 20 upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar iniquities obtain on all sides.

It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical de- 25 velopment of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government should be resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious. 30

The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order

to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of coöperation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any way but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee,^o in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress adjourns in order to effect the most efficient coördination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems^o of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of Congress upon another occasion.

If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous and rapid and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live

under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the union of the states. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt, were we to permit their triumph. 10 They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free people of the world are banded together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends. 20

The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired. 25

I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been 30

our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us.

A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of
s God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor,
I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of
His own mercy and justice.

WOODROW WILSON

28. WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 8, 1918

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk ⁵ between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and ¹⁰ settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles^o upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central ¹⁵ Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms^o was added. ²⁰

That program proposed no concessions at all, either to ²⁰ the sovereignty of Russia, or to the preferences of the population with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot

of territory their armed forces had occupied — every province, every city, every point of vantage — as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who had begun to feel the force of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders, who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments, or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states, which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag^o of the 19th of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that

spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugations? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world. 5

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their ad- 10
versaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once,^o but again and again 15
we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them.

Within the last week, Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with 20
admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fear- 25
less frankness, the only failure to make definite statements of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit him- 30
self to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure

that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative, as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling^o for these definitions
5 of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim
10 power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered, and yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conviction of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them
15 to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind, and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may
20 be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs, and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it
25 or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of
30 peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open, and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and

aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants^o entered into in the interest of particular governments, and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view. We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation, which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, and be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

The program^o of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, ex-

cept as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia, as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of very kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit

the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an

absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

- 5 13. An independent Polish state should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should
10 be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

- 15 In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right, we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until
20 the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved, but only because we wish the right to prevail, and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by
25 removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of specific enterprise, such as have made her record
30 very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her, or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or

with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world — the new world in 5 which we now live — instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we 10 should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority, or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to 15 admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. 20 Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The peoples of the United States could act on no other principle and to the vindication they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. 25

The moral climax of this, the culminating and final war for human liberty, has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

WOODROW WILSON

29. MESSAGE TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

MARCH 11, 1918

MAY I not take advantage of the meeting of the Congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment when the German power has been thrust
5 in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purpose of the people of Russia?

Although the Government of the United States is, unhappily, not now in a position to render the direct and
10 effective aid it would wish to render I beg to assure the people of Russia through the Congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe
15 and the modern world.

The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life.

WOODROW WILSON

30. PRINCIPLES OF PEACE

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 11, 1918

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: On the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor^o 5 replied on the 24th and Count Czernin for Austria on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my 10 own address on the 8th of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis 15 for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he in- 20 tended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. It is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk.^o His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply
10 them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international counsel.

He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in
15 this case, to generalities and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three states now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council,
20 but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood. He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see
25 economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he
30 thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one

but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the Government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with 5 Poland. In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities 10 themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance. 15

It must be evident to every one who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chan- 20 cellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna.^o We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice, — no mere peace of shreds 25 and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the con- 30 ditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between state and state. The peace

of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of these problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural convictions, the
10 racial aspirations, the security and peace of mind, of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained. They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut
15 out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations
20 of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexa-
25 tions, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and
30 governed only by their own consent.

"Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will

henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, nor by the arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue 5 anywhere involved in it, because what we are seeking is peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns. 10

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settle- 15 ments she has suggested are for the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles, and of the way in which they should be applied. She entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities 20 inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is intrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to 25 peace until the causes of this war are removed and its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine 30 their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render

such things impossible for the future ; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great
5 populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered
10 world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade.

Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of com-
15 mercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guaranty, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit
20 of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate
25 and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one
30 another, is a matter of European concern and must, of course, be conceded ; that Belgium must be evacuated and be restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions

that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own Empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, 5 it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose 10 of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany. 15

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles^o to be applied are these :

First, that each part of the final settlement must be 20 based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent ;

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they 25 were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power ; but that

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the popu- 30 lations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states ; and

Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely
5 in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these prin-
10 ciples that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their
15 voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the
20 United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety.

25 Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation — emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers — whatever the difficulties and present par-
30 tial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We be-

lieve that our own desire for a new international order under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

I hope that it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America — that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.

WOODROW WILSON

31. THE CHALLENGE OF FORCE

ADDRESS AT BALTIMORE, APRIL 6, 1918

FELLOW CITIZENS :

This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred rights of free men everywhere. The Nation is
5 awake. There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men and, if need be, all that we possess. The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself im-
10 perative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it, and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meager earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will
15 not, upon those who demand a high rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

20 The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular

loan means because the cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows the least can now see plainly how the cause of justice stands and what the imperishable thing is he is asked to invest in. 5 Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own and that, if it should be lost, their own great Nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that at no 10 stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive 15 purposes. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve 20 or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready whenever the final reckoning is made to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German 25 power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice,° evenhanded and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be 30 to renounce and dishonor our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. 10 It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said — in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often 15 seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent — that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement. At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; 20 professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military 25 masters,° the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done — in Russia, in Finland,° in the Ukraine, in Rumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From 30 this we may judge the rest. They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own

act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement; and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their 5 dominion!

Are we not justified^o in believing that they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt 10 their check to be final they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East? 15

Their purpose^o is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they 20 fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy — an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe — an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India and the peoples of the Far East. In such a program our ideals, the ideals of 25 justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those 30 to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the World, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded, and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind.

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with un pitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed — a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-country-

men, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that 5 force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and Peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, 10 Force to the utmost, Force° without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

WOODROW WILSON

32. STANDING TOGETHER FOR DEMOCRACY

ADDRESS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION, BUFFALO, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 12, 1917

I ESTEEM it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public counsels. When your executive committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because
5 it seems to me that this, above all other times in our history, is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the nation. I thought that this was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been
10 gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow citizens who has come here to speak,
15 not the words of authority, but the words of counsel; the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own
20 interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception, and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where

men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is, it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom. -

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities 10 deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was — as enviable a position as 15 any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man, I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had 20 resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries 25 of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. 30 She had a "place in the sun."^o

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want?

There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the Government has not laid its hands, to direct it and, when necessity arose, control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the Government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves, they could get a subsidy^o from the Government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German Government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German Government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the

industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway.^o The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the 5 threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in, it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker 10 than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany is thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace. And she talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. 15 Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan states, control of Turkey, control of Asia 20 Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad — the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams con- 25 templated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided, for I feel bound to put this proviso in, always provided the present influences that control the German Government continue to control it. I believe 30 that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in

any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans.^o Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

5 You know how many intimations come to us from one of the Central Powers^o that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power,^o and you know that it means that the people of that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands, they will in effect themselves
10 be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined
15 that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

20 May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia^o apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow
25 them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German Government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America, or anywhere else, who supposes that the free industry and enterprise
30 of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world, is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am op-

posed to is not the feeling of the pacifists° but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Colonel House,° to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I did not send him on a peace mission. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won. And he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes. 10

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom — our own or anybody else's — we will see that the power of this country, the productivity of this country, is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way, I do not mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the Government but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be — the greatest hope and energy of the world — is to stand together night and day until the job is finished. 20

While we are fighting for freedom we must see, among other things, that labor is free; and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved 25 30

are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your president, Mr. Gompers, and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to
5 express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in corral.

10 Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy, if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all
15 the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same, and I believe I am speaking from my own experience
20 not only, but from the experience of others, when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists.^o I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I have not had a chance; but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in
25 order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover a settlement is hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man
30 much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room because then the awkward thing

is, he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately 5 in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of the past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was 10 not present. One of the friends said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you knew So-and-so." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I-I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasing human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate 15 a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in, but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics with me, I should love to be with them. 20

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in 25 separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to coöperate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning 30 of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow citizens, by some of the things that have hap-

pened recently. The mob spirit^o is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands; and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself a partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purposes as much as any man, but I would respect the ancient processes of justice; and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have, and upon every occasion where it is necessary, have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all, but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

WOODROW WILSON

33. GREETING TO FRANCE

ON BASTILE DAY, JULY 14, 1918

AMERICA greets France on this day of stirring memories with a heart full of warm friendship, and of devotion to the great cause in which the two peoples are now so happily united. July 14th, like our own July 4th, has taken on a new significance, not only for France but for the world. 5 As France celebrated our Fourth of July, so do we celebrate her Fourteenth, keenly conscious of a comradeship of arms and of purpose of which we are deeply proud.

The sea seems very narrow today, France is so neighbor to our hearts. The war is being fought to save ourselves 10 from intolerable things, but it is also being fought to save mankind. We extend our hands to each other, to the great peoples with whom we are associated, and to the peoples everywhere who love right and prize justice as a thing beyond price, and consecrate ourselves once more 15 to the noble enterprise of peace and justice, realizing the great conceptions that have lifted France and America high among the free peoples of the world.

The French flag floats today from the staff of the White House, and America is happy to do honor to that 20 flag.

WOODROW WILSON

34. THERE CAN BE NO HALFWAY PEACE

INDEPENDENCE DAY ADDRESS AT MOUNT VERNON,
JULY 4, 1918

GENTLEMEN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND MY
FELLOW CITIZENS: I am happy to draw apart with you
to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little
of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence.
5 The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and
untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those
great days long ago when General Washington was here
and held leisurely conference with the men who were to
be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From
10 these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and
saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it,
saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past
which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It
is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the
15 immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place
of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise
that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and
reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded
are the inspiring associations of that noble death which
20 is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside
we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes

the world that lies around us and conceive anew the purpose that must set men free.

It is significant — significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot — that Washington and his associates, like the Barons at 5 Runnymede,^o spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. They were thinking not of themselves and of the material interests which 10 centered in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they 15 had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with 20 them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them — do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that 25 it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our 30 place. There must now be settled, once for all, what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration

we draw today. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on
5 and to the friends with whom we have the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon
10 every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world — not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others, also, who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world — the people of
15 stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of Governments,^o who speak no common purpose, but only selfish ambitions of their own, by which none can
20 profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; Governments which fear their people, and yet are for the time being sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every
25 people who fall under their power — Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.
30 There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is con-

ceivable. These are the ends° for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace :

I. — The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world ; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

II. — The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. — The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States in their relations with one another ; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. — The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

5 These great ends cannot be achieved by debating° and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the
10 world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they
15 were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak — speak proudly and with confident
20 hope — of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they knew little of — forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose
25 which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!

WOODROW WILSON

35. OUR PEACE PROGRAM

ADDRESS AT THE METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE, NEW
YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1918

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: I am not here to promote the loan. That will be done — ably and enthusiastically done — by the hundreds of thousands of loyal and tireless men and women who have undertaken to present it to you and to our fellow citizens throughout the country; 5 and I have not the least doubt of their complete success; for I know their spirit and the spirit of the country. My confidence is confirmed, too, by the thoughtful and experienced coöperation of the bankers here and everywhere, who are lending their invaluable aid and guidance. 10 I have come, rather, to seek an opportunity to present to you some thoughts which I trust will serve to give you, in perhaps fuller measure than before, a vivid sense of the great issues involved, in order that you may appreciate and accept with added enthusiasm the grave sig- 15 nificance of the duty of supporting the Government by your men and your means to the utmost point of sacrifice and self-denial. No man or woman who has really taken in what this war means can hesitate to give to the very limit of what they have; and it is my mission 20 here to-night to try to make it clear once more what the

war really means. You will need no further stimulation or reminder of your duty.

At every turn of the war we gain a fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our hope and
5 expectation are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well-defined purposes which we did not determine and which we cannot alter. No statesman or assembly created
10 them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear
15 now.

The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states. Individual statesmen may have started
20 the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a people's war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. We came into it^o when
25 its character had become fully defined and it was plain that no nation could stand apart or be indifferent to its outcome. Its challenge drove to the heart of everything we cared for and lived for. The voice of the war had become clear and gripped our hearts. Our brothers from
30 many lands, as well as our own murdered dead under the sea, were calling to us, and we responded, fiercely and of course.

The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were; and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues° are these:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They *are* the issues of it; and they must be settled — by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently and with a real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other
5 governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.^o They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot "come to terms" with
10 them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

15 It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going
20 to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the practical implications that are involved in it.

If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve
25 by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table should come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing, also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality
30 by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of the

settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character not by what happens at the peace table, but by what follows. 10

And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms again, why it must be guaranteed is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Rumania. 25

But the general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars,^o and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively 30

as representing this government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the league of nations.

Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the league of nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

The confidence with which I venture to speak for our people in these matters does not spring from our traditions merely and the well-known principles of international action which we have always professed and followed. In the

same sentence in which I say that the United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations let me say also that the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility for the maintenance of the common covenants and understandings upon which peace must henceforth rest. We still read Washington's immortal warning against "entangling alliances"¹⁰ with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and maintenance of common rights.

I have made this analysis of the international situation which the war has created not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubtings and mischievous perversions of counsel, and it is necessary once and again to sweep all the irresponsible talk about peace intrigues and weakening morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly, and if need be unceremoniously, aside and say things in the plainest words that can be found, even when it is only to say over again what has been said before quite as plainly if in less unvarnished terms.

As I have said, neither I nor any other man in governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command. But I have responded gladly and with

a resolution that has grown warmer and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can pervert unless it be wilfully. I am bound to fight for them, and happy to fight for them as time and circumstances have revealed them to me as to all the world. Our enthusiasm for them grows more and more irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid and unmistakable outline.

And the forces that fight for them draw into closer and
10 closer array, organize their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of the peoples engaged. It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose
15 and sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded, more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have
20 fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain
25 the impression that they are playing a game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain
30 workaday people have demanded, almost every time they came together, and are still demanding that the leaders

of their governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they were seeking in this war, and what they think the items of the final settlement should be. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms — only in the terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power, and not in terms of broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and 10 enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world. Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked 15 because they did not know how searching those questions were and what sort of answers they demanded.

But I, for one, am glad to attempt the answer again and again, in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer that my one thought is to satisfy those who 20 struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps above all others, entitled to a reply whose meaning no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get some one to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders 25 of the governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think that I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with 30 regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained.

Unity of purpose and counsel are as imperatively necessary in this war as was unity of command in the battlefield: and with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory. It can be had in no other way. "Peace drives"^o can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer the sort of peace which will bring security and reassurance to all peoples and make the recurrence of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible, and that nothing else can. Germany is constantly intimating the "terms" she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing.

WOODROW WILSON

36. THE NECESSITY FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SPEECH BEFORE THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS,
JANUARY 25, 1919

I CONSIDER it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war and also to secure the peace of 5 the world, not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated 10 questions connected with the present settlements, which perhaps cannot be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we 15 make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions they are not susceptible for confident judgments at present.

It is therefore necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this conference should be 20 rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say, without straining the point, that we are not the representatives of Governments, but representatives of the peoples.

It will not suffice to satisfy governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

10 The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon
15 the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the Government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people
20 to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

25 It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained.

This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the
30 interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must take as far as we can a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place ⁵ in quiet lecture rooms have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy, whom we have just overcome, had at his seats of learning some of the principal centres of scientific ¹⁰ study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful and continuous coöperation of men can see to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization. ¹⁵

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders, it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. ²⁰ And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war. ²⁵

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause ³⁰ of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore, the United States should feel that its part

in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous
5 superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing — a thing sometimes called into life to meet
10 an exigency — but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be
15 the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest — an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples.
20 This is what their thought centres upon.

I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea
25 stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their con-
30 fidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keynote of the whole, which expressed our purposes and ideals in the war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement. 5

If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow-citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. 10 They expect their leaders to speak; their representatives to be their servants.

We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the keynote 15 of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions; we would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing — 20 this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish. 25

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon the small. Those foundations were 30 the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power

of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

5 You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have had laid down before them the unalterable lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the
10 lines of settlements by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work
15 out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere.

We stand in a peculiar cause. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men
20 came into the war after we had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war, but to win a cause. And I am responsible to them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for
25 these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do, in honor, to accomplish the object for which they fought.

I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for
30 there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged

from the politics of this great continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch, and why it occurred to the generous mind of your President to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege 5 to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and 10 the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the fullest in this enterprise.

NOTES

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on February 22, 1732, at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland County, Virginia, in the homestead of his father, Augustine Washington, beside the wide waters of the lower Potomac River. His ancestor, John Washington, had come from England to America in 1656. The family shared in the prosperous life and growth of Virginia; and, when Washington was born, his father owned more than five thousand acres of land, and was acquiring wealth in the directing of mining and commerce. The father died in 1743, leaving to his eldest son the best part of the estates, including Hunting Creek, afterward named by the heir Mt. Vernon; and to the other surviving son of his first marriage the lands about Bridges Creek. George Washington, then but eleven years of age, was left to the care of his mother, the second wife, Mary Washington. He had the prospect, when he should become of age, of the farm, where he then lived with his mother and the younger children in Stafford County, across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg. It was a high-spirited, vigorous, resourceful stock from which Washington was descended.

His school life was not such as it would have been, if his father had lived to a greater age. The sexton, Hobby,

at his home on the Rappahannock, led him in the first steps of knowledge. Later he went to school to Mr. Williams at Bridges Creek, where, by the aid of Mather's *Young Man's Companion*, he made exact progress in arithmetic, surveying, measurements, legal forms, and didactic rules of behavior, as his preserved manuscripts, written in a well-rounded hand, faithfully show. If his father had lived, he might have had the opportunity to complete his education in England, as his father and brothers had. In place of this, however, he had the vigorous experience of hunting and journeying in the wilds, and he had also the society of his brother Lawrence at Mt. Vernon and of Lord Fairfax, the accomplished scholar and gentleman, at Belvoir, not far away, and later at Greenway Court near the Shenandoah. Participation in the social and business life of the men of that time on the banks of the Potomac brought forward at an early age the independent and manly character of the young Washington.

But Washington was soon drawn away from home to military life. Years before, at his brother's at Mt. Vernon, he had received training from visiting military officers of France in martial drill and sword exercises. Before his brother's death he had taken the latter's place as major in the militia. Now the efforts of the French to dislodge the English settlers from the Ohio afforded opportunity for the services of this brave and masterful man. Washington was sent as a messenger by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French commander at Fort Le Bœuf, through two hundred and fifty miles of almost trackless wilderness, to demand that the French withdraw from the valley of the Ohio. In October, 1753, he set forth, in

January he was back, though with the refusal of the French commander, yet with an exact knowledge of the country and the enemy's forces. In the next spring, at Great Meadows, he learned what battle was, and opened the French and Indian War. The following year he was with General Braddock on his fatal expedition against Fort Duquesne, as aide-de-camp, and did what he could to give sense to the fight, to save the retreat, and to hold the way into Virginia. For the rest of the war, with poor resources, he was the defence of the long frontier, and rejoiced at last to be with General Forbes when, in July, 1758, he entered again the woods by the union of the rivers and changed the name of the old fort of the wilderness to Pitt. Arduous, preparatory upbuilding were these harassing years of his first military life.

When Washington was twenty-six years old, he married a beautiful widow of like age, Mrs. Martha Custis, who brought to him two children by her former marriage, and large wealth in money and lands. This, with the estates now his at Mt. Vernon, made him one of the wealthiest men of Virginia. He became a most successful business man and planter. He thoroughly enjoyed hunting and the chase with the horse and hounds. He was a fine, polished gentleman, scrupulous and elegant in dress, delighting in the social life. He was honored in the House of Burgesses, of which he was a member, and he became a leading man of the colony.

In September, 1774, Washington took a silent part in the session of the Continental Congress as one of the delegates from Virginia. He watched the proceedings, visited among the members to secure harmony of action, and was considered by many delegates, as Patrick Henry

said, the greatest man on the floor in "solid information and sound judgment." The Congress was a momentous gathering of great men, the slow beginning of the union of the forces of liberty. It formed an "American Association," engaging not to trade with England until the hostile legislation should be repealed. The Congress adjourned till spring. When it came together again in May, 1775, the war had begun with Concord and Lexington. While it was in session, a Williamsburg mob had caused the governor of Virginia to withdraw. Washington was ready and expecting action, and came to the Congress daily in his military uniform. At last John Adams, on the 15th of June, declared that the army must be adopted, and that there was but one person for its command, "a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the union." Then Washington was chosen commander-in-chief.

For almost nine years he held that commission, and when he resigned it he was the foremost man in the world. The story of the long service is the familiar story of the Revolutionary War. After a stately progress to Boston, he organized, drilled, and entrenched the army around that city, until by a sudden occupancy of Dorchester Heights, in March, 1776, he compelled the withdrawal of the British from Boston. With noble and persistent effort for the next three years, he, the mainstay of the Revolution, kept his forces together, enduring both the vacillating support of Congress in supplies and the uncertain continuance of his troops, cut to the heart by the

treachery of Arnold, yet undismayed by the severe trials of the winter of 1780-1781 at Morristown. At length the end came. Washington, with admirable skill, kept Clinton in fear of attack in New York, while he with six thousand men found his way to Yorktown, Virginia, and there, in union with Lafayette's forces and the French fleet, caused, on October 18, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis. Thus the power of Great Britain in America was broken. Slowly the steps for peace were taken, but upon April 19, 1783, Washington declared to his army that the War of the Revolution was ended, and upon the 23d of December, before the Congress in Annapolis, he laid down his commission in a noble speech of simple grandeur.

Washington was the logical candidate for the presidency, and was unanimously chosen the first president. By his dignity of manners and by his grandeur of moral character, he established the position of that office and brought respect to the government. He was found to be as great in matters of peace as of war. He bound the country together in himself through extensive tours in the North and in the South. Surrounded by competent advisers, he led the country through difficulties in finance, and, if possible, greater dangers in connection with the French Revolution. Feeling that his work of establishing the nation was not done, he allowed himself to be reëlected. The troubles with France hardly finished were followed by those with England. The treaty which John Jay made with that country brought upon Washington slander and abuse. But he stood unmoved yet sorrowful at his post, until, as his term of service ended amid general prosperity, men were ashamed of their disgraceful conduct. With his sincere *Farewell Address*, in 1796, he showed his

character and love of country, as he indicated his retirement from public service in 1797.

Affecting was the scene of Washington's departure, when John Adams was inducted into the office of president. Tears rolled down Washington's face as the people bade him good-by at the threshold of his abode. He returned to his beloved Mt. Vernon, and entered upon his old life. He had devoted much of his fortune and the whole of his heart to his country. At one time when there seemed to be a spark of war, he was called to be commander-in-chief again. But it passed by. While still following his country's problems, he found pleasure in his home-life and the marriage of his granddaughter. Calmly and nobly on the 13th of December, 1799, he met his end, after but a day's illness. His countrymen, everywhere struck with grief, mourned and praised him as the Father of his Country.

DANIEL WEBSTER

THE family of Daniel Webster was probably of Scotch origin, but from England the Puritan ancestor, Thomas Webster, came to New Hampshire in 1636. In a few generations the Websters were numerous in the colony, and one of them, Ebenezer Webster, after gallant service in the French and Indian War, built a log house on the northern borders of settlement in the town of Salisbury, near the Merrimac River. From this place he went forth as captain of two hundred fellow-settlers to fight in the battles of the Revolution. Imposing in stature, vigorous and courageous, self-sacrificing and affectionate, though without a day of schooling acquiring learning enough to

be a judge in his own town, of forceful mind and noble character, Ebenezer Webster was an ideal father for his richly endowed son. In a frame house, near by the log cabin, the child of a second wife and the next to the last of ten children, Daniel Webster was born on the 18th of January, 1782.

The next year the father moved to another part of the town, afterward named Franklin, and there, at a place upon the Merrimac, later called "Elms Farm," under the care of a self-sacrificing mother and the influence of a masterful father, in the midst of an affectionate family, Webster passed his childhood days. As he appeared to be very frail, he was sent as much as possible to school and was allowed to play in forest and field. He learned from nature lessons that he never forgot. If the schools were poor, he learned by reading everything that he could find and by committing good literature to memory. When fourteen years old he was sent to Phillips Exeter Academy, where he rapidly advanced in his studies and began his Latin. In February, 1797, he was transferred to the care of a private teacher, Rev. Samuel Wood, of neighboring Boscawen, and was overcome with joy as he learned that his father in his straitened circumstances intended to send him to college. With this teacher he studied Virgil and Cicero, while at the same time, with a college senior, he learned in six weeks a little Greek grammar, and studied the four Evangelists of the New Testament. Thus poorly prepared, he entered Dartmouth College in August, 1797.

In college he soon became the foremost student. As he was poorly prepared in Greek, he never excelled in that language, and could not become the first scholar in his class. But he was very proficient in Latin, and the

superior of all in history and literature. He excelled in oratory at the societies and in literary work. The people of Hanover asked him to deliver their Fourth of July oration in 1800, and the students appointed him to give a funeral eulogy over a deceased comrade. In college Webster filled his memory with rich stores of learning, the beginning of a great reservoir of knowledge that served him in good stead during his forensic life.

In 1801, immediately after leaving college Webster entered the office of a neighboring lawyer, Mr. Thompson, and began to read law, and continued to read history and literature. He never lost sight of play while at his work, and kept up his intimacy with the rod and the gun. In order to help his older brother Ezekiel to remain at Dartmouth, he broke up his studies to teach at Fryeburg, Maine. He proved himself a successful teacher. To earn more money he found time to copy legal papers, yet he kept reading everything he could find in literature. Back again the next year at study with Mr. Thompson, Webster remained there until his brother was through college, when he went to Boston and entered the law office of the Hon. Christopher Gore, afterward governor of Massachusetts and United States senator. Here he had opportunity to study and read more widely, to meet distinguished men, and to get a glimpse of a larger life. While studying here, he received an offer of a clerkship of the court in New Hampshire, at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars, but he refused it, to the sorrow and disappointment of his father, yet with the feeling that it would prevent his advance in the future. In the spring of 1805 he was admitted to the practice of law in Boston, and soon opened an office in Boscawen, New Hampshire, so as to be near

his father in his declining years. After the death of his father he gave up his practice of about six hundred a year to his brother, and in May, 1807, he began in Portsmouth his practice before the Superior Court in New Hampshire.

During the next ten years, from 1807 to 1817, Webster found himself as a lawyer and statesman. By the side of Jeremiah Mason as a companion and opponent, he advanced in skill as a pleader and in self-restraint and power as an orator. His practice increased until it became worth two thousand a year, as large as it could be in that section of the country. Led into politics by addresses in opposition to the War of 1812, he was twice sent to Congress. There he, at first occasionally and later frequently, took part in public discussions, until he occupied a most commanding position. By favoring the increase of the navy, by advocating sound measures in finance, taxation, and specie payment, by seeking a liberal interpretation of the Constitution, he vigorously served his country.

During this period, in 1808, Webster married a beautiful and accomplished woman, Grace Fletcher, of Hopkinton. Of social and sympathetic nature, he richly enjoyed his home. After the death of his favorite daughter Grace, he had no heart for public affairs, and it was with a feeling of relief that he retired to private life in 1817.

From 1827 to 1841 Webster represented Massachusetts in the Senate of the United States. At the beginning of his service, his life was clouded with a great grief in the loss of his beloved wife, and he had little inclination for public office. The next year he was again afflicted by the death of his brother Ezekiel, who from early life had been almost a part of himself. He was first summoned to public utterance by the needs of the surviving officers of

the Revolution, and in the stirring times he joined with Henry Clay in the support of the tariff and the "American system." Soon the supreme hour of his service was to come, and in the great reply to Hayne, January 26, 1830, in the zenith of his powers, he struck a note for the Constitution and Union that thrilled the Senate and the land, and has never ceased to resound. Throughout the administration of Jackson and Van Buren he continued in the great debates his defence of the Union.

His work during these years in and out of the Senate was of vast extent and power. In 1830 he made the marvellous plea in the White murder case. In 1832 he set forth at the centennial the matchless character of Washington. In 1833 he vigorously maintained that the Constitution is not a compact, but a government. During this year and the next he delivered innumerable speeches upon the removal of the United States Bank. In 1834 he pleaded for constitutional liberty in a speech on the president's protest. In 1837 he took time for a tour of the West, and in 1839 he enjoyed to the full a friendly visit to England. In 1837, too, he had made his greatest political speech in New York against Jackson and his measures, foreseeing the great panic, which soon came. Later, he presented his theories of finance to thousands in campaign speeches throughout the country, contributing to the election of Harrison in 1840.

Webster became the Secretary of State in 1841, and continued in office for two years amid constant difficulties but with important results. Harrison died within a month, and Tyler became president. The dominant party quarrelled with the executive Cabinet, secretaries resigned and Webster had to endure reproach to remain at his

post. He did remain, however; effected important measures; brought his learning and intellectual powers to bear upon his work; and, amid almost insurmountable difficulties, which did not end when his real work was accomplished, carried through the Ashburton Treaty with England, arranging the northeast boundary. When all was done, he, with great self-respect, left his office to rejoin his party.

In 1845 he was returned to the United States Senate for his last term. He was in the thick of the fight upon questions arising from the admission of Texas, the Mexican War, and the Oregon question. The manner in which the territory of the United States was extended was to him a source of great disappointment. After the election of General Taylor, the strife over the disposal of the new territory almost threatened disruption. Finally, Clay secured the approval of Webster in 1850 to a great compromise. Webster attempted in his 7th of March speech to present a basis upon which the North and the South could remain united. For this speech he was made the subject of scorn as recreant to duty by many leading men in the North, but calm consideration leaves little doubt that, however it clashed with his previously expressed views in regard to slavery, it was in accordance with the underlying principle of his entire life, the giving of the first importance to the preservation of the Union.

With the accession of Fillmore in 1850 to the presidency, Webster became for the second time Secretary of State. Though engaged in important and difficult measures, no such great opportunity came to him as when he was Secretary before. At the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol, on July 4, 1851, he gave the last of

his great occasional addresses. He sought but failed to secure the nomination for president in the spring in 1852, as he had failed in 1848 and 1844. Ill health came upon him, but the president refused to accept his resignation. In July the people of Boston sought to do him honor. On October 23, 1852, the great orator and statesman passed away with the last words upon his lips, "I still live."

WASHINGTON AND WEBSTER

WASHINGTON and Webster were alike in majesty of person and in loyalty and devotion to the Constitution and the Union.

Washington was a large, stalwart man, standing six feet two inches high. His hair was chestnut brown, until it became gray in later years. His forehead was square and commanding. His eyes were of a bluish gray, not large, but set far apart. His nose was large and thick, with dilated nostrils and prominent ridge. His cheeks were high and his face broad. His lips were compressed, his mouth was strong, and his jaw was massive. Though his eyes told of calmness and of benevolence, except when they flashed in moments of valor or of terrible indignation, his face, as a whole, gave the impression of self-possessed but resolute force. His limbs were large and strong. His hands and feet were of unusual size, so that gloves had to be made especially for him, and boots of the highest number were required. He had powerful muscle; he was a practical carpenter and smith; he could surpass those about him in deeds of strength. Strong of foot, he had great endurance

in walking; masterful in the saddle, he could ride any steed anywhere. His personal bearing was commanding, his figure full of dignity and force. When on horseback, in stately Continental uniform he was heroic; when standing in public receptions as president, with one hand upon his sword and the other behind him, he had the dignity and bearing of a king.

Webster, too, was a large, strong man, and though he was not of unusual height, yet when he stood forth to speak he seemed to those who looked upon him like a giant. His hair was full and raven black. His brow was a prominent feature, massive, craggy. He had large black eyes, so large that when he was sickly in youth he was called "all eyes"; but his eyes were earnest, thoughtful, searching, sometimes even sorrowful. His cheek bones were high, and his broad, full face was dark so that when a boy he was called "black Dan," yet when he spoke in impassioned words, there was a glow upon his cheeks. He had a most expressive mouth, — "a mouth," a foreigner said, "that seemed to respond to all the humanities." In his impassioned eloquence his eyes and mouth seemed to express all emotions from tender affection and sympathy to fearful scorn and rage. His frame was large, his chest broad, and his tread firm. Devoted to athletic exercise, skilful in the use of the gun and the rod, he was vigorous and healthy in all his body. But his voice, musical and rich, now low in tone, now raised in thunderous power, was his greatest personal possession. As he spoke, his features were expressive, powerful, commanding. His whole personality passed into his speech. Men called him Jove-like, as men had called Pericles Olympian. The people of London, as he passed by, said, "There goes a king."

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

THE first monument on the hill was erected in 1794 to the memory of Dr. Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Congress, and lately commissioned as major general in the Continental Army at the time of the battle. A beautiful copy of this monument, made in marble, is now found within the Bunker Hill monument. The permanent monument was to have a nobler object, as Webster declares, with glowing eloquence in his orations, than the commemoration of the death of a martyr to the cause of liberty.

In 1824 certain citizens of Boston formed the Bunker Hill Monument Association, under the influence of William Tudor, Esq., who desired the erection of "the noblest monument in the world." The first president of the association was Governor John Brooks, the major that had been sent from the hill for reënforcements and supplies at the time of the battle. Daniel Webster, the second president, held the office at the time of the laying of the corner-stone.

The ceremony was planned for June 17, 1825, fifty years after the battle. The great procession of military, Masons, societies, and guests came over from Boston. General Lafayette was there to assist the Grand Master of Masons and Daniel Webster in laying the stone. Twenty thousand people covered the northern hillside before the speakers' stand, while just in front two hundred veterans of the Revolution, aged, wrinkled, some scarred from wounds, among them forty survivors of the battle, with General Lafayette in their midst, faced the orator. Rev. Mr. Thaxter, who on that spot fifty years before had

prayed ere the battle began, now solemnly offered prayer, and Rev. John Pierpont read an ode. The day was bright and beautiful, a cool easterly breeze tempered the air, the scene was inspiring, when Daniel Webster stood before that great throng and delivered the first Bunker Hill address.

The monument stands in the centre of a large square. The sides of the square are four hundred feet long, enclosing all the ground of the redoubt and the spot where Warren fell. From a solid foundation below the ground of six courses of stone, the monument rises eighty-four courses to the summit. The height of each course on the side is two feet eight inches. The apex is a single stone weighing two and a half tons. The monument is thirty feet square at the bottom, and about fifteen at the top, and it is two hundred and twenty-one feet high. At the entrance door the wall is six feet wide. A circular spiral staircase winds to the top, where there is a room seventeen feet high and eleven in diameter. Here a window looks to each point of the compass. The monument is built of Quincy granite.

The celebration of the completion of the monument was upon June 17, 1843. It was a remarkable pageant. More than one hundred thousand people gathered upon the sloping hillside. The President of the United States, members of his Cabinet, and thousands of descendants of New England, from all parts of the country, were there. Again Daniel Webster, Secretary of State of the United States, was the orator of the day. A great work had been accomplished; a significant battle-field and the American Revolution had at last a worthy monument. The event found adequate and eloquent expression in Webster's address, *The Completion of the Bunker Hill Monument*.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

1: 4. arrived. Observe the balanced independent constructions leading to the principal statement. This formal introductory sentence, though quite in accord with the stately rhetoric of Washington's time, follows classical models more closely than is now customary. The usage of our own time is illustrated in the opening sentences of the two Bunker Hill orations.

2: 9. election. In 1792.

2: 12. foreign nations. France declared herself a republic in 1792. The wise course of Washington kept the country in a neutral position during the period of the French revolution known as "The Reign of Terror." This period has been generally considered to extend from January 21, 1793, the date of the execution of Louis XVI, to July 28, 1794, when Robespierre and other sanguinary leaders were guillotined on the spot where their victims had been killed. The atrocities committed during this period and its sudden end fully justified the policy of Washington.

2: 12. persons. Washington even went so far as to send to Madison a number of topics and to ask him to consider them and express them in "plain and modest terms"; but Madison begged Washington to abandon his idea of retiring. Jefferson wrote a letter, presenting at length the reason why he should remain in office, and ending with the words: "and I cannot but hope that you can resolve to add one or two more to the many years you have already sacrificed to the good of mankind."

2: 28. unconscious. What is the grammatical relation of this word with the rest of the sentence?

2: 32. years. Washington was now sixty-four.

4: 22. former and not dissimilar occasion. Washington's "Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States," November 2, 1783. See the *Writings of George Washington*, ed. by W. C. Ford. Putnam's Edition, Vol. X, p. 330.

5: 11. palladium.

Set where the upper streams of Simois flow
 Was the Palladium, high 'mid rock and wood:
 And Hector was in Ilium, far below,
 And fought, and saw it not — but there it stood!
 It stood, and sun and moonshine rain'd their light
 On the pure columns of its glen-built hall.
 Backward and forward roll'd the waves of fight
 Round Troy — but while this stood, Troy could not fall.

— Matthew Arnold, *Palladium*.

7: 27. so large a sphere. Compare the population of the United States in 1790, 3,929,214, with that of the present day.

7: 31. subdivisions. Form a clear conception of the powers and relations of the state and national governments.

8: 3. shall. Notice the difference between *shall* and *will* in this sentence.

8: 23. treaty with Spain. In 1795 a treaty with Spain was made by the United States, allowing both nations to use the Mississippi River.

8: 30. with Great Britain. On the 18th of August, 1795, Washington signed the Jay Treaty with Great Britain. This treaty was violently opposed at first, but gradually its acceptance was considered wise.

9: 12. first essay. The Articles of Confederation agreed upon in Congress in 1777 were not accepted by the last state until 1781. They remained as the basis of a feeble government until 1789.

9: 13. adoption of a constitution. On April 30, 1789, in New York City by the inauguration of President Washington, a government was organized under the Constitution.

10: 2. associations. Numerous "self-created societies" were formed in the land, influenced by the Jacobin clubs of France. Washington sternly opposed them without regard to his popularity. They soon passed away, as the failure of

the French Revolution taught the people that liberty should be restrained by law.

16:15. **excluded.** The references here are especially to Great Britain and France.

21:6. **proclamation.** When it had been announced early in April that France had declared war against England, Washington, upon due deliberation with his cabinet, issued a proclamation of neutrality.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

23:11. **We are.** Notice the parallel sentences in this place and in other passages in this oration, often used with great effect.

23:14. **not.** This negative phrase is very impressive. It leads to a change of construction into a stronger positive sentence.

23:21. **But.** This conjunction is used to return to the previous line of thought.

24:17. **discoverer of America.** Columbus reached San Salvador on October 12, 1492, in the caravel *Santa Maria*. See, for fuller description of this scene, Irving's *Life of Columbus*.

24:29. **colonists from England.** In 1607 the English settlements began at Jamestown, Virginia.

25:6. **Plymouth.** On December 21, 1620, the Pilgrims landed upon Plymouth Rock from the *Mayflower*. See Webster's oration on the "First Settlement of New England."

25:8. **ancient Colony.** Maryland was first settled in 1634, at St. Mary's on a branch of the Potomac, by colonists who came over in the *Ark* and the *Dove* under the direction of the Baltimore family.

25:22. **Society.** The Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which Webster was at this time the president.

26:9. **We know.** Study the effect of the repetitions *we*

know at the beginning and *we wish* at the close of this paragraph.

28: 2. summit. This is a passage of great beauty and force, and is typical of Webster's best manner. It was used a second time in reference to the Washington Monument in Webster's Address upon the Addition to the Capitol, July 4, 1851.

28: 11. States. The twenty-four included all the present states east of the Mississippi River, except Michigan, Wisconsin, and Florida, together with Louisiana and Missouri beyond the river. Virginia included West Virginia.

28: 17. twelve. In 1919 there were one hundred millions.

28: 20. become. Should this word and *prostrated* have the same auxiliary? **neighbors.** If the people were neighbors then through the usual routes of travel before the time of steam railroads, when only one hundred and twenty-two miles of horse-railroads had been built in the country between 1807 and 1830, how much more are they neighbors now with railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and motor cars.

28: 26. respect. Compare the present position of the United States in navies, revenues, and respect, since it has become a world power.

28: 28. revolution. The French Revolution.

28: 31. thrones. Consider how Napoleon made and unmade nations and altered the map of Europe.

29: 3. free government. Paraguay became a republic in 1810; Ecuador secured its independence in 1822; the independence of the United States of the Rio de la Plata (now known as the Argentine Republic) was formally declared in 1816; and at the time of the delivery of this speech, the struggle for independence was in progress in Uruguay, in Chile, and in Bolivia, which governments soon after became republics.

29: 5. European power. In 1823 President Monroe sent his famous message to Congress in regard to the encroachments of foreign nations on this continent.

This message contained the following sentences: "We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view an interposition for oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the United States." Also, "The American continents should no longer be subjects for any new European colonial settlement." These expressions embody what is known as the Monroe doctrine. As popularly understood, the Monroe doctrine meant a political protection and a guaranty of freedom from European interference to all states of North and South America.

29:23. Venerable men. Two hundred veterans of the Revolution, forty of whom were survivors of the Battle of Bunker Hill, were present at this address. Turning toward them as he spoke, Webster addressed to them this memorable passage.

30:8. metropolis. The city of Boston.

30:14. ships. Vessels of the United States navy lay near the Charlestown Navy Yard, which was situated at the foot of the hill.

30:25. thank you. Webster's son Fletcher said that his father composed this passage while fishing in the Marsheepie River. Once, as he drew near his father, he heard him say, "Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation," etc.

30:28. Prescott. William Prescott (1726-1795) of Groton

and Pepperell, Massachusetts, was a man of wealth, who served as captain in 1755 against Nova Scotia, commanded in the redoubt at Bunker Hill, fought as volunteer at Saratoga, 1777, and was a member of the legislature for several years. **Putnam.** Israel Putnam (1718-1790) of Salem, Massachusetts, and Pomfret, Connecticut, was a valiant officer in the French and Indian War and in the Revolution. "He dared to lead where any dared to follow" is the inscription on his tombstone. **Stark.** John Stark (1728-1822) of Londonderry, New Hampshire, was distinguished in the French and Indian War and in the Revolution. His name is associated with Ticonderoga and Bennington. After the war he returned to his farm. **Brooks.** John Brooks, M.D. (1752-1825) of Medford, Massachusetts, fought at Lexington, Saratoga, Monmouth, became adjutant-general, and was governor of Massachusetts, 1816-1823. **Reed.** James Reed (1724-1798) of Woburn, Massachusetts, and Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, served in the French and Indian War, was colonel of the 2d New Hampshire Regiment at Bunker Hill, and became brigadier-general. He lost his sight from smallpox in 1776. **Pomeroy.** Seth Pomeroy (1706-1777) of Northampton, Massachusetts, fought in the battle of Lake George, 1755, became brigadier-general in 1755, and fought at Bunker Hill. He reënforced Washington on the Hudson in 1776. **Bridge.** Ebenezer Bridge was colonel of a Massachusetts regiment at the battle. Although wounded on the head and neck with a sword cut, he was one of the last to retreat.

31: 7. mid-noon. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book V, ll. 310-311.

31: 9. **Him.** Major-General Joseph Warren (1741-1775) of Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was a physician in Boston in 1762, the orator of the Boston Massacre in 1772, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and chairman of the Committee of Public Safety in 1774.

31: 20. thy name. A change from the third person to the second with grammatical license is made, as if under the stress of violent emotion the orator would address the form which his imagination set before him.

32: 5. Trenton. Washington crossed the Delaware on Christmas night in 1776, and on the following day captured nearly a thousand men at Trenton. **Monmouth.** The battle of Monmouth took place on June 28, 1778. As a result, Washington drove the British from New Jersey. **Yorktown.** The British army under Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. This disaster brought about the fall of the North Ministry and the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the United States. **Camden.** On August 16, 1780, was fought at Camden, South Carolina, a battle between the British forces under Lord Cornwallis and the American forces under General Gates. In this battle Gates was defeated, losing thereby his military reputation. **Bennington.** Burgoyne lost nearly a thousand men at Bennington, Vermont, before Colonel John Stark, August 16, 1777. **Saratoga.** Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

33: 4. battle. See Introduction.

33: 11. act for altering the government. In 1774 Parliament passed "four intolerable acts." Among these was the Regulating Act, which altered the charter of Massachusetts, deprived the people of many political rights, forbade town-meetings, and made the governor supreme. Another was the Boston Port Act, which removed the capital to Salem and closed the port of Boston to commerce.

33: 30. interest. Notice the forceful repetition of the word.

34: 1. Salem. Salem was settled by the Puritans under John Endicott in 1628, two years before Boston.

34: 19. Continental Congress. The second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and continued

until March, 1781, when it was succeeded by the Congress of the Confederation.

34:24. Congress of Massachusetts. When Governor Gage suspended the Provincial Assembly in 1774, it resolved itself into the Congress of Massachusetts. It met at Concord and chose a Committee of Safety for the defence of the colony.

35:3. Lexington and Concord. On the morning of April 19, 1775, a strong detachment of British soldiers, sent out by General Gage to seize arms and stores said to be accumulated at Concord, a small town about eighteen miles from Boston, reached Lexington, where they found a small body of militia drawn up to oppose them. A conflict ensued on Lexington Common, in which the first blood of the War of the Revolution was shed. The British soldiers pressed on to Concord, where they found that most of the stores and munitions of war had been removed to a place of greater security. While in Concord the soldiers were attacked by the militiamen, and their return was the signal for a general engagement. These battles of Lexington and Concord, though insignificant when considered with reference to the number of men engaged, marked the real commencement of the Revolutionary War.

35:8. miscet. Virgil's *Æneid*, VI, 726. "And an Intelligence, spread through the parts, directs the whole mass and is mingled with the vast body."

35:19. Quincy. Josiah Quincy, Jr. (1744-1775). In 1767, at a time of great excitement on account of the oppressive measures, Quincy wrote the quoted words, in a letter signed *Hyperion*, to the *Boston Gazette*.

35:26. four. There were not six, for Maine at this time was a district of Massachusetts, and the territory of Vermont was a subject of dispute between New Hampshire and New York until 1777.

37:1. one who now hears me. General Lafayette, on a visit to America, after a remarkable progress through the country, reached Boston in time for this occasion, and sat in

front of the orator among the Revolutionary officers. When Webster addressed him, he arose and remained standing with uncovered head.

37: 32. Parker. Moses Parker (1732-1775), lieutenant-colonel of Bridge's regiment, a gallant veteran of the French wars, had his knee fractured by a ball, was left in the redoubt, carried prisoner to Boston, and lodged in jail, where his leg was amputated. He died July 4. **Gardner.** Thomas Gardner (1724-1775) of Cambridge, colonel of the Middlesex regiment, was mortally wounded, as he advanced to defend the redoubt on the third attack. He died the next day. **McClary.** Andrew McClary, major of Colonel Stark's regiment, after a brave fight in the battle, rode to Medford for bandages, then reconnoitred the British on Bunker Hill, and when returning was killed by a shot from a British frigate. **Moore.** Willard Moore, of Paxton, Massachusetts, major in Ephraim Doolittle's regiment, was shot at the time of the second charge, and was being carried to the rear, when a ball passed through his body. He died on the battlefield alone, telling his men to save themselves.

38: 15. Greene. Nathanael Greene (1742-1786), of Warwick, Rhode Island, was with Washington at Cambridge. He was made major general August, 1776, fought at Trenton and Princeton, was quartermaster general in 1778, was at Monmouth and Tiverton Heights, superseded Gates at the South, recovered South Carolina by many battles, and was honored by the South, where he died near Savannah. **Gates.** Horatio Gates (1728-1806) was born in England. He gained glory from the capture of Burgoyne, but was not successful at the South. **Sullivan.** John Sullivan (1740-1795) of Berwick, Maine, was a general in active and conspicuous service during the Revolution. Afterward he became member of Congress, and was United States judge in New Hampshire from 1789 till the time of his death. **Lincoln.** Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) of Hingham, Massachusetts, was a prominent general

of the Revolution both at the North and at the South. He received Cornwallis's sword. He was influential in Boston and in the nation through a long and honorable life.

38:18. redeas. Horace, *Odes*, I, 2, 45, "Late may you return into heaven."

40:31. wars. The wars during the wonderful career of Napoleon involved all Europe.

41:19. terror around. The French Revolution resulted in the "Reign of Terror." See note to page 2, line 12.

43:16. Louis the Fourteenth. This grand monarch was king of France from 1643 to 1715.

43:25. the powers of government are but a trust. As future citizens of the republic consider carefully and patriotically the value of this proposition.

44:4. Ajax asks no more. This is from Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, Book XVII, line 729.

44:21. Greeks. The struggle of Greece for independence lasted from 1820 to 1828. Webster had made a speech in Congress, January 19, 1824, expressing the sympathy of the American people, and at the time of this oration there was intense interest in the issue of the struggle.

45:20. revolution of South America. This took place between 1810 and 1824.

48:9. Solon. Solon did his work for Athens in the seventh century before Christ; Alfred the Great did his for England in the ninth century after Christ.

48:24. twenty-four States. Now in 1918 there are forty-eight states and surely ONE COUNTRY.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was one of the great makers of history, and is enrolled among the tragic heroes of history. When we think of him, we think first of all of the

victorious President who brought us through the most perilous crisis in our annals. He is the great captain of Walt Whitman's poem, which has become one of our national hymns, — the wise and valiant captain who steered our ship of state through the tempestuous seas which threatened to wreck our national hopes and ideals, and with them the democratic hopes of the civilized world.

But Lincoln the chief of state instantly raises the image of Lincoln the man; for he is the most human, the most intimately known, and the most vividly realizable of all our presidents. At once there rises to the mind that memorable figure, towering tall and gaunt and strong, but slightly bowed by the Atlantean load he bore; and then that unforgettable face, weather-beaten and furrowed, compassionately kind and sad. Like Emerson's face, it stamps itself indelibly upon the memory as peculiarly distinctive and distinguished, peculiarly American as we like to think, in its noble simplicity. A great personality speaks to us here; we feel its fascinating power, — a power at which we marvel when we remember its lowly origin and the hard soil of indigence and disadvantage out of which it grew.

When now we pass from the great things he did and the great personality he was to the things he wrote, we find that these writings are full of Lincoln. We feel his personality in them. Waves of feeling pass through them and over them — slight ripples here, great billows there. It is because the soul of Lincoln is reflected even in his formal state papers that they have a literary as well as a political interest. So that to consider his writings from the literary point of view is to consider them at once for

their meaning, that is for their truth and reasonableness, and for their distinctive qualities of expressiveness. It is to become more conscious of the secret of their effectiveness, — their rhythm, their strength and felicity of word and phrase, their imagery, their illustration. We but look into them more intently, more curiously, and be it said, more lovingly than we do when we are considering only their bearing on the great political questions which they discuss. They interest us supremely as revealing the spirit of Lincoln. It is that spirit which gives the words life and color and movement.

In trying, however, to account for Lincoln's success as a persuader of men we must not fail to take account of the most powerful factor in it. Lincoln wanted to learn how to speak the truth, to fit words to things with exactness and clearness. He loved truth more than he loved place or anything else in this world. He was ambitious, but he never sacrificed truth to ambition. His power over men lay largely in his profound and obvious sincerity. He made them feel his determination to get at the truth for himself, and to present it in its own victorious power to others. He had no use for the mere thrust and parry and fence of the speaker who talks to win. He had only scorn for what he describes in his humorous way as the "specious and fantastic arguments by which a man may prove that a horse chestnut is a chestnut horse." He had no patience with the trimming and hedging and dodging which are so often resorted to by vote-catching politicians, or with what he characterizes so admirably as "sophistical contrivances groping for some middle ground between right and wrong." He never occupied that middle ground. His was a whole-hearted devotion to the

truth as he saw it and felt it, and this gave him his ascendancy over men. It winged his language, and sent it home to the minds and consciences of his hearers.

Lincoln's style was effective for its purpose; and the nature of that effectiveness is well indicated by Lincoln's biographers in their comments on the reception of the Cooper Institute address: "Such was the apt choice of words, the easy precision of sentence, the simple strength of propositions, the fairness of every point he assumed, and the force of every conclusion he drew, that his listeners followed him with the interest and delight a child feels in its easy mastery of a plain sum in arithmetic." This plainness, this "interesting and delightful" and convincing plainness, this limpid lucidity, is the basic virtue of Lincoln's style. It is not the lucidity of the word or of the sentence merely; but the lucidity which illuminates whole arguments and long statements. We find it in the admirable narrative of events and clear statements of issues in the messages to Congress. We find it in sections of the first inaugural,—for instance, in the paragraphs devoted to the contention that "the union of these states is perpetual," and in those which deal with the rights and relations of minorities.

But united with this quality of clearness are those other qualities to which we have also alluded before; those which manifest the deeper feelings of Lincoln's heart. Of this quality of deep feeling, expressed in the simplest language, we have the noblest example in the Gettysburg Address. There are the exquisite fineness and that other quality of tenderness, of compassionate humanity and imaginative sympathy, which the tragic experiences of the war matured

in him. Examples might be cited from both speeches and letters. Perhaps the most classically beautiful of them is the letter of condolence to Mrs. Bixby, worthy, by reason of qualities as rare and indefinable as is the beauty of the Gettysburg Address, to take a place of honor with that incomparable speech. Here it is; it cannot be too often quoted:—

NOVEMBER 21, 1864.

DEAR MADAM:—I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

With that we may close. It is as perfect in its way as a flawless lyric poem. It enshrines those qualities by which Lincoln endeared himself to the heart of a people, and at the same time it gives him rank with the masters of our English tongue.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The best introduction to the life of Lincoln is the brief autobiography which he wrote in June, 1860, at the re-

quest of a friend for use in preparing a campaign biography. This gives us a compact, bird's-eye view of his career as Lincoln himself saw it. This will be found in the "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln," compiled and edited by his biographers, John G. Nicolay and John Hay (2 vols., Century Company). Their standard Life of Lincoln in ten volumes (same publishers) is the authoritative source for the smallest details of Lincoln's life and the history of the times in which he lived. It is an indispensable reference book. There is a condensation in one volume which may be strongly recommended. Less voluminous and more manageable than the ten volumes are the lives by W. H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner (two vols., Putnam), and Miss Tarbell (two vols., the McClure Company).

Good short lives of Lincoln are those by John T. Morse, Jr., in the American Statesmen Series (Houghton, Mifflin and Co.), Norman Hapgood (The Macmillan Company), Noah Brooks, in the Heroes of the Nations Series (G. P. Putnam's Sons), and Alonzo Rothschild (Houghton, Mifflin and Company). Among the popular lives for young people those by Charles Carleton Coffin and W. M. Thayer may be mentioned. These may be supplemented by the intimate account of Lincoln's life at the White House given in Frank B. Carpenter's "Six Months at the White House, or The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln" (Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

The essays by James Russell Lowell and Carl Schurz and the commemorative address by Emerson should certainly be read; as well as the poems by Stedman, Bryant, Holmes, Stoddard, and Gilder, supplementing Lowell's noble lines in his Commemoration Ode.

A good history of the United States should be available for references in following the allusions to the events of the Civil War contained in Lincoln's writings.

ADDRESS AT COOPER INSTITUTE

Page 49. This speech, commonly regarded as one of Lincoln's great speeches, was an important factor in his prospects. It was his personal introduction to the East, and it made him a presidential possibility. He realized its importance, and after his acceptance of the invitation of the Young Men's Central Republican Union of New York City, he devoted himself with great assiduity to the preparation of his speech. Here was a challenge to him to test his prowess before an audience very different in character from those to which he had appealed in the West. The Eastern people were anxious to see and hear the man who had become a national figure in his debates with Douglas.

It was a great audience which gathered at Cooper Institute; it was cultured and critical, and included men eminent in all walks of life. Lincoln was escorted to the platform by Horace Greeley and David Dudley Field. William Cullen Bryant, who presided, introduced him, and beside him on the platform were men like Henry Ward Beecher and Joseph Choate. Mr. Choate has recorded that Lincoln seemed ill at ease, beforehand, as in fact he afterwards admitted. Mr. Herndon recorded that for the first time Lincoln felt somewhat ashamed of his clothes, — ill-fitting and creased as his newly purchased suit was. But he rose to the occasion, and when he had warmed up to the work, he held the closest attention of his audience. He did so by the sheer weight of his matter and the masterly lucidity and utter simplicity of his style. "It was marvellous," says Mr. Choate, "to see how this untutored man by mere self-discipline and the chastening of his own spirit,

had outgrown all meretricious arts and found his way to the grandeur and strength of absolute simplicity." The restraint which he showed in speaking of the South and of slavery was as effective as the fervor of his closing periods of moral appeal.

The speech made a powerful impression. All the papers printed it in full the next day. Horace Greeley's paper, the *Tribune*, remarked: "The vast assemblage frequently rang with cheers and shouts of applause, which were prolonged and intensified at the close. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience." And Greeley, later recalling the event, wrote: "I do not hesitate to pronounce Mr. Lincoln's speech the very best political address to which I ever listened, and I have heard some of Webster's grandest. As a literary effort it would not of course bear comparison with many of Webster's speeches; but regarded as an effort to convince the largest number that they ought to be on the speaker's side, not on the other, I do not hesitate to pronounce it unsurpassed."

ADDRESS AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

Page 65. At various cities on the way to Washington Lincoln delivered short addresses, from which we select the most significant and characteristic. A sense of the impending crisis pervades them all. It must be recalled that after Lincoln's election, the South, declaring him to be "a section and minority President," seceded from the Union, organized a Confederate government, and seized upon Federal property. It is to face this grave situation that Lincoln is journeying to the Capital and the White House.

It will be noted that in the address at Trenton, on the eve of Washington's birthday, Lincoln makes an apposite and interesting allusion to one of the few books of his boyhood, — Weems's "Life of Washington." On the day

following, Washington's birthday, he finds himself "filled with deep emotion," in the historic Independence Hall, Philadelphia, "from which sprang the institutions under which we live." Here he was called upon to raise a flag in honor of the recent admission of Kansas as a State of the Union. The last words of the speech reflect no doubt rumors then current that personal violence would be attempted against the new President.

It may be recalled that when the body of the murdered President was taken back to Springfield to be buried on 3d May, 1865, the route was the same as that followed on this Eastward journey. This was done at the earnest request of the towns along the route, eager to honor the man who had quickened in the hearts of the citizens a deeper affection than any which had ever been evoked by a Chief Magistrate of the Nation.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Page 68. This Inaugural Address was delivered on March 4th, 1861, a little more than a month before the actual outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South. Lincoln had organized the government, and his Cabinet included Seward, Chase, and Stanton. The Confederate government had also been provisionally organized, with Jefferson Davis as President; and besides seizing Federal property, it had invested Fort Sumter and had declared itself out of the Union.

The Address is quiet and simple; and therefore it disappointed many who expected a brilliant rhetorical flourish. It was calculated to allay passion; and the more it was studied, the better it was liked.

It was delivered to a vast crowd. Lincoln was well heard, and every sentence was followed with rapt and eager attention. Few things are more significant of Lincoln's relations with men, and with rivals and opponents, than the fact that

when he rose to speak the man who took his hat was his old friend and enemy, "the little giant," Stephen A. Douglas, and that the judge who administered the oath was Chief Justice Taney of the Dred Scott case, of whom Lincoln had so freely spoken his mind.

LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

Page 81. Horace Greeley, a distinguished editor but a somewhat severe critic of the Administration, published in the *New York Tribune* of 20th August, 1862, — at the very time when Lincoln was considering the issuing of his Proclamation of Independence, — an open letter addressed to Lincoln entitled *The Prayer of Twenty Millions*, severely criticising him for giving in too much to pro-slavery sentiment, and failing to satisfy the hopes of twenty millions of loyal people.

REPLY TO THE MEN OF MANCHESTER

Page 83. Unlike the well-to-do people and tradesmen of England, the workingmen sympathized largely with the North. Notwithstanding the fact that Manchester was hard hit by the blockade of the Confederate ports during the war, the workingmen of that city sent an address to the President, expressing their support of his policy.

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Page 86. At Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, were fought in July, 1863, the great battles which proved to be the turning point of the war. It was decided to dedicate a portion of the battle-ground as a national cemetery, and the solemn ceremony took place there on 19th November, 1863. The oration of the day was given by one of the most finished

speakers of the country, Edward Everett; and after his long and eloquent oration, the President rose to add a few words — this classic of eloquence, which ranks with the greatest examples of ancient and modern times. It conclusively places Lincoln among the great masters of English speech.

Lincoln felt, after he had spoken, that his speech was a failure. (This has been made the theme of a charming story, "The Perfect Tribute," by Mary Shipman Andrews, which the student is urged to read.) Not so others, as is shown by the letter which Everett wrote to him the day after the ceremonies, to which Lincoln replied as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 20, 1863.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT:

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses, in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst.

Your obedient servant

A. LINCOLN.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Page 87. This is a unique state document — “the most sublime state paper of the century,” said an authoritative English newspaper. State documents do not usually throb with deep feeling as this does; nor are they expressions of religious aspiration and hope. Now that the end of the war seems to be near, Lincoln’s great nature, deepened and refined by four years of anguish, dares to express itself. But he is master of his emotions, and finds fitting language for them; wonderfully effective language; simple and direct as ever, but, with the possible exception of the Gettysburg Address, more deeply freighted with feeling. Indeed, opinions are divided as to which is the high-water mark of Lincoln’s genius: Lincoln himself seemed to prefer this Inaugural. He wrote to Thurlow Weed as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 15, 1865.

DEAR MR. WEED:

Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as — perhaps better than — anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it.

Truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS

Page 90. Lincoln delivered this address three days before his assassination. It looks toward the bright future, and outlines his policy of reconstruction.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, twenty-sixth President of the United States, was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. As a boy he suffered from ill health and was not strong physically. He entered Harvard College in 1876 and was graduated in 1880. While there he participated in athletic sports and stood well in his studies. Very early in his career he showed that dogged determination to overcome disadvantages that would have deterred many another man. Weak physically he resolved to be strong. Laboring under many disqualifications for a public speaker, he would not allow them to stand in his way. The Empire State has never had a son who was so typical of its own motto "Excelsior" as Theodore Roosevelt.

After graduation he at one time contemplated entering the legal profession but gave this up. Being possessed of independent means he devoted himself to the public service. He held successively various positions in the service of New York City, New York State and the United States. In 1900 he was elected Vice President when McKinley was elected President and became President upon the death of the latter September 14, 1901. He was elected to the Presidency in 1904 by the largest popular majority ever given a candidate for that office.

He retired in 1909 but became a candidate for the Presidency in 1912 on the Progressive party ticket. He was defeated and afterwards devoted himself to traveling, writing and speaking.

He has been portrayed as the most picturesque and dramatic character that ever held the Presidency. The things which he has done and said have left an indelible impression on the minds not only of the American people, but on those of the world.

As Police Commissioner in New York City, as organizer of the "Rough Riders" in the Spanish-American War, as Governor of New York State, and as President, he was constantly doing things in such forceful and dramatic ways as steadily to appeal to the public imagination.

In his public addresses and private interviews he has used phrases that have become bywords of expression: "philosophers of the closet," "parlor socialists," "rose-water reformers," "race suicide," "nature fakers," "mollycoddles," "Armageddon," "malefactors of great wealth," "undesirable citizens," "hyphenated Americans," "my policies," "strenuous life," "the square deal," "the big stick," "Ananias Club," "hat in the ring," "third cup of coffee."

He has been cartooned more than any man of our day and has been more in the public eye. He has been called "the most interesting," "the most versatile American," "the man on horseback," "the many-sided Roosevelt." He was a writer of many books on a great variety of subjects. He was a hunter, sportsman, athlete, physical culture expert, historian, essayist, scientist, critic, editor, reformer, explorer, and held ten or a dozen LL.D.'s from various universities.

His messages to Congress were noted for their power. As a public speaker he suffered serious limitations, for his diction was not polished and his voice not pleasing; but he overcame all these limitations by his vitality and earnestness. The effectiveness of his public addresses came largely from the vigorous way in which he delivered them, in the manner in which he fairly bit off his words and snapped them at his audience.

His first inaugural address consisted of but a few lines delivered in a private house in Buffalo to which he had gone after President McKinley died from the effects of an assassin's bullet. There the oath of office was administered to him and the few words spoken on the afternoon of September 14, 1901.

His second inaugural address was delivered on March 4, 1905, amidst almost ideal conditions of weather. So unusual is a perfect day had for inaugural ceremonies in the inclement month of March that the cry "Roosevelt luck" was generally attributed as the cause. The address, which was delivered to a vast concourse of people, is usually regarded as one of our great state papers.

Theodore Roosevelt died at his home at Oyster Bay, Long Island, January 6, 1919, and was quietly buried on a beautiful knoll overlooking the water of Long Island Sound. He is mourned by the entire nation as one of the most noted citizens of the Republic.

97 : 6. conditions — happiness. Refers to our great natural resources and our distance from other lands. The latter has enabled us to develop our industries in peace.

97 : 8. heirs of the ages. Our language, ideals, institutions, were brought over by our ancestors and yet we did not have to struggle by war to get them.

97: 22. Under a free government a mighty people can thrive best. This is almost an advance challenge of the Great War. What caused the decline of Athens? of Rome?

98: 1. Duties to others. Contrary to the sometimes preached doctrine of isolation. Compare with the "permanent alliances" in Washington's address.

98: 7. Sincere friendship. Though occasionally accused of sordid motives the United States stands as the most conspicuous example of a nation willing to give millions to the distressed people of other nations and to spend billions with no hope of return in money or land. Compare this with Wilson's later speeches in this volume.

98: 30. Our forefathers — perils. The hardships of the modern immigrant or pioneer fade into insignificance beside the dangers of death and starvation that faced the early settlers.

99: 6. Never before have men . . . republic. The whole continent of North America and also that of South America are under democratic republican forms of government, but strictly speaking the inference to be drawn from this sentence that the people of the United States are administering the affairs of a continent is not true. The area of the Roman Republic was very much smaller than that of the United States and its method of governing territory outside of Italy would not to-day be considered democratic.

99: 15. If we fail — foundations. Compare with the later phrase used by Wilson: "to make the world safe for democracy." Roosevelt is referring to possible industrial and social trouble within. These caused the fall of the Roman Republic. Wilson is referring to dangers without: the military autocracy and imperialism of Germany.

99: 29. We know that self-government is difficult. The failure on the part of the people in a republic to realize that government will not run itself, but has to be given a great deal of intelligent and educated thought, is responsible for many of the ills of a democratic body politic.

WOODROW WILSON

WOODROW WILSON, twenty-eighth President of the United States, was born at Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1879, took his degree in law at the University of Virginia in 1881 and practised his profession at Atlanta, Georgia, 1882-1883. From 1883-1885 he took graduate work at Johns Hopkins University, and from then on was engaged in teaching history and political science at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan and Princeton. Of the latter University he was president from 1902-1910. In 1911 he became governor of New Jersey and remained such until he resigned, March 1, 1913, to take office as President of the United States, to which he had been elected in November, 1912.

President Wilson took the country by surprise when in his first message to Congress he revived a custom which had been abandoned since the times of Washington and Adams. He appeared in person before a joint session of the House and Senate on April 8, 1913, and addressed them on the tariff. There was some murmuring against it at first, but it has now become so much a matter of course that it seems as if it had always been.

Mr. Wilson, probably more than any of his predecessors, has, like the Prime Minister in England, regarded himself as the leader of the political party which he represents. His addresses to Congress and to the people must be read with this in mind. Both of these bodies have been puzzled by this new trend in American public life which is not in harmony with their preconceived notions of the Presidential office.

He has written and spoken much, mainly on history, politics and government. As a speaker he has a pleasing voice, which though not loud in tone carries to a great distance. He uses gestures less often than almost any of his contemporaries, but carries conviction by the force of well-chosen words and apt phrasing. Many of the phrases used by him have been taken up by the public and put into common use. His addresses always show evidence of the most careful preparation and are characterized by brevity and lucidity. So skilful has he been in stating issues clearly that his words have often been accepted by the representatives of the allies of the United States as best expressing their own ideas of the issues at stake in the Great European War. Peoples over the whole earth have been made acquainted with them and they have gone far towards making neutral nations see clearly the objects for which not only the United States but also her allies are fighting.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Page 101. The day was cloudy and overcast in the morning but the sun burst through the clouds as if for a good omen. The longest parade (40,000) in the history of inaugurals took place. There were about 100,000 people grouped about the capitol. Applause was more frequent than at most inaugurals, particularly when the President spoke of social justice. The popular vote for Wilson was 6,293,454, for Taft (Republican) 3,484,980, for Roosevelt (Progressive) 4,119,538, for Debs (Socialist) 900,672. Had the votes of the split Republican party been combined (Taft and Roosevelt) Wilson would have been defeated by the popular vote. It is not improbable however, that many who voted for Roosevelt would have voted for Wilson if only Taft had been running. The fact

that both the Senate and House of Representatives had become Democratic would seem to indicate this. The polling of the largest Socialist vote in the history of that party (more than double that of 1908) would seem to indicate considerable dissatisfaction with the former conduct of governmental affairs.

Throughout the address the President is referring in general terms to specific evils, examples of which he evidently had in mind but did not mention. The reader will be able to call to mind concrete cases corresponding to his characterizations.

103: 22. Let every man. This attitude was characteristically American. From the days of the earliest colonists and pioneers the individual had taken care of himself with very little governmental assistance or interference.

104: 7. Altered. During his first administration bills were introduced into Congress looking to the remedying of the conditions enumerated in each one of these items and they became laws:

Reducing the tariff.

Establishing Federal Reserve Banks for an elastic currency.

Various forest reserve and national park acts.

Various reclamation projects enacted into law.

Arbitration of disputes between employees and employers.

Establishing a Federal Trade Commission amending the Anti-Trust Law.

Creating an eight-hour day for railway employees.

Establishing farm loan bureaus for assistance in agricultural development.

Preventing interstate commerce in the products of child labor (since declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court).

Compensation act for employees of the United States injured while performing their duty.

106: 18. day of dedication. Compare this expression with the use of the word in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

106:24. God helping me. Compare this closing with that of the address calling for war — April 2, 1917. These two bear a striking similarity to Luther's closing words before the Diet of Worms, 1521: "I can do nought else. Here I stand. God help me. Amen."

ADDRESS AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

Page 107. This was an open air address delivered in Independence Square, Philadelphia, in front of Independence Hall, the building in which the Continental Congress was holding its sessions when the Declaration of Independence was adopted July 4, 1776. The President did not read the address from a manuscript, but apparently delivered it extemporaneously. Mr. Wilson was the first President to come to Philadelphia, the Cradle of Liberty, on the natal day of the Republic. When some of the audience were pushing to get a front seat the President said half humorously: "Liberty does not consist in trying to get a front seat."

107:8. chair. The chair referred to was that in which John Hancock of Massachusetts sat as President of the Continental Congress.

107:11. table. The table referred to was used when the Declaration of Independence was formally signed on August 2, 1776, by the members of the Continental Congress then present. On the table when President Wilson was speaking was a pitcher which had been used by Washington.

107:14. Declaration of Independence. An analysis of the Declaration of Independence will show that it consists of four parts: (1) the preamble, (2) theories of government, (3) an enumeration of a long train of abuses, (4) the resolution declaring independence. It is to parts 3 and 4 that Mr. Wilson refers as a "piece of practical business." The theories expressed in part 2 were centuries old. It was the application of them to concrete conditions that was new.

The Declaration of Independence as a document was not the work of any one man. As early as June 10, 1776, a committee of the Continental Congress had been appointed to draw up such a paper. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert Livingston and Roger Sherman. Jefferson drew the preliminary draft, but Adams and the others suggested modifications which were adopted before it was reported to Congress on June 28th.

110:6. Banking System. It must be recalled that this address was delivered before the Great European War broke out. There was a heavy gold balance due from this country to Europe. Business conditions were said to be very bad and a financial crisis was freely predicted. The war broke out just about a month later and the call on the United States for supplies of all kinds gradually turned the balance against Europe and, according to some, averted a business and financial crisis which would otherwise have surely come.

110:12. that act. The act referred to is known as the Federal Reserve Act which became law December 23, 1913. It divided the United States into twelve districts with a Federal Reserve Bank in each. Its object was to make the expansion and contraction of the currency elastic. Like any reform it met with bitter opposition from some and enthusiastic support from others. During the war the system inaugurated has proved of great value in the part it has played in floating enormous Liberty Loans. The former Treasury System could have accomplished virtually nothing so successfully.

111:21. dollar diplomacy. While Philander C. Knox was Secretary of State under President Taft he was particularly active in securing opportunities for the investment of American capital in the republics of Latin America and China. This was called "dollar diplomacy." The policy met with considerable opposition, particularly because it

made our neighbors suspicious of our motives and was likely to cause a good deal of trouble because of the uncertain conditions of the government in many of the countries to the south. Investors would then be likely to call on our government to interfere to protect their purely private investments and this might lead to serious conflicts with friendly governments.

112: 4. We did not set up any barriers against any particular people. There may have been in the President's mind at this time a veiled protest against the discrimination against the Japanese on the part of the California legislature. The Japanese government had been presenting protests.

112: 24. Mexico. Many large mining and other corporations representing American capital had gone into Mexico. Virtually the only system of labor known and found there was that of the peon. Some agents of the companies tried to introduce the free labor system of America but without success, others accepted conditions as they found them and did the best they could, and others undoubtedly abused the system they found. Superficial observers, accustomed to American and European labor conditions and little understanding the difficulties in the way of trying to work reforms, brought back harrowing tales of imposition and exploitation. Details now known but not then available for the President make it clear that the Mexican troubles were due not so much to a rising of the peon against his wrongs as to a political revolt of unscrupulous leaders, who were using the peon as a pawn.

The entire address, but particularly the part about Mexico, has been characterized as exemplifying "the impossible idealism of the President." Conditions in Mexico were then little understood by Americans, who, with the President, thought that the Mexicans were moved by the same political and economic ideals as themselves. The eighty-five per cent referred to resent just as strongly any attempt of the United States to impose its political and economic customs upon

them as they resent the rule of the fifteen per cent. The primitive conditions then obtaining in Mexico, like those in existence in other parts of the world, had to be met by other arguments than the theories of a Declaration of Independence.

114: 12. treaty obligations. In 1902 a treaty was made with Great Britain, known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty from the names of the men who drafted it — John Hay, Secretary of State in Roosevelt's Cabinet, and Lord Pauncefote, British Ambassador to the United States. This treaty was duly ratified by the United States Senate. By its terms all vessels of all nations were to be given equal treatment in the matter of toll charges for using the Panama Canal. In the Panama Canal Act for the government of the Canal Zone passed by Congress in 1912 American coastwise vessels were exempt from the payment of tolls. This was in violation of our treaty with Great Britain. Under President Wilson Congress took up this matter and passed an amendment to this Act, which the President signed June 15, 1914. By this amendment the exemption of American vessels was repealed.

116: 31. humanity. The whole attitude of the President in this address is a kind of protest against a sentiment which had prevailed earlier and was wrongly derived from the famous toast of Commodore Decatur: "Our Country: In her relations with other lands may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." The Commodore did not mean that we were not to try to rectify a wrong, but that if the government in power representing a majority of our fellow citizens became involved in a war which we personally might think was wrong — it was none the less our duty to fight for her.

ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON

Page 118. This address was delivered in the evening before a meeting of the Pan American Scientific Congress in Washington.

118:4. Monroe Doctrine. In a message of President Monroe to Congress in 1823 he laid it down as a principle that the United States would look upon the attempt of any European power to impose its form of government or to establish new colonies in the two Americas as an unfriendly act.

Under subsequent Presidents this simple doctrine was so broadly interpreted that in the public mind it came to mean a virtual protectorate over other American nations. This "Big Brother" attitude was distasteful to the Latin American republics and it is this impression that President Wilson is trying to remove. See note to **29:5**.

118:16. Americans. The states of Latin America have become noted for the frequency of their internal revolutions and for wars between themselves. This explains President Wilson's plea.

119:18. arbitration. The United States has always been a strong advocate of arbitration. Under President Taft great progress was made along these lines and under President Wilson still further steps were taken. During 1913 thirty-one governments, representing four fifths of the population of the world, had agreed to the plans for arbitration proposed by the United States for settling disputes between nations. Conspicuously absent from the list, however, were the German and Austrian empires.

119:22. munitions of war. Accepted practices of neutrality have always permitted the purchase of arms abroad. Had the American colonies in the Revolution not had such a privilege their freedom would probably never have been won. In this, as in not a few other respects, treatment given to Latin American countries, because of their unstable condition, has had to be different. President Taft on May 14, 1912, had forbidden the export of arms to Mexico, which was in a state of revolution. On February 3, 1914, President Wilson rescinded this order, thus permitting the very thing which he is saying in this address should not be allowed. However, on

April 23d of the same year he was forced by conditions in Mexico to replace the embargo on the export of arms to that country and thus had to reverse himself. His experience with Mexico probably convinced him that it was safer for Latin American countries not to permit the export of arms to neighboring countries in which revolutions were taking place.

THE TRADITIONS OF AMERICA

Page 121. Delivered before the convention of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution on the afternoon of April 17, 1916. Over 6000 members were in attendance. The occasion explains the references to traditions of our forefathers.

AMERICANIZATION AND LOYALTY

127: 3. organization. Such organizations as the National German American Alliance are referred to here. See the exposé of the activities of this body in the report of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, — Senator W. H. King of Utah, Chairman.

ADDRESS AT LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE

Page 129. This address was delivered in the daytime before an audience of 25,000 persons, many of them mountaineers who had driven in for miles over rough roads to hear the President. For conciseness of expression and for literary charm it is one of President Wilson's best efforts.

129: 1. memorial. The memorial consists of the log-cabin, in which Lincoln was born, placed within a marble temple.

132: 27. In his habit as he lived. *Hamlet*, III. iv. 135.

132: 31. brooding. President Wilson in using this language, and the words "brooding," "lonely," is speaking

figuratively of the way in which he feels about the martyr President. Lincoln was not one who withdrew from contact with his fellows. On the contrary he delighted in companionship and was happiest when he had many about him.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

Page 135. Very short notice was given by the President to the Senate of his intention to address them on this occasion. He appeared at 1 P.M. on the day mentioned and delivered his message.

The theory on which President Wilson addressed the Senate alone on this occasion is based on the original conception of the powers and duties of that body. The Senate by the Constitution of the United States is intended to be an advisory and controlling body particularly in matters relating to foreign affairs and treaties. The President may negotiate a treaty, but it does not become valid until ratified by a two thirds' vote of the Senate. Washington used to consult the Senate in person, and President Wilson on this occasion merely revived this custom as he had revived the similar custom of addressing both Houses of Congress on April 8, 1913.

135: 10. balance of power among European nations was an idea and term which came into existence about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It means that the States of Europe should be so balanced that no nation should have such a preponderance as to endanger the independence of another. Most of the European wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries were fought to maintain that balance.

137: 20. freedom of the seas — an expression arising from the fact that though peoples may own the land nobody owns the seas. Within certain limiting customs established by the practice of nations for centuries their use is open to all. Germany had been maintaining that Great Britain was

restricting her use of the seas. This reference was taken in Great Britain as a sort of reflection on the British. This was without warrant, however, for Great Britain with but few exceptions (and these were always remediable in court) had scrupulously obeyed international practice and law. It was Germany that was constantly violating all established rules of the sea and humanity by her submarine policy.

138: 4. naval armaments. Long before the European war Great Britain had proposed a limitation of naval armament, but it had met with no favor in Germany. Germany had set the pace for military programs and had maintained it.

BREAKING WITH GERMANY

Page 141. At 2 P.M. on the date given President Wilson appeared before Congress with this message. The occasion was most impressive and a subdued hush prevailed. The President was calm and confident. The members and the onlookers present listened intently to his recital of events. The audience rose and cheered at his concluding words.

141: 9. eighteenth of April. The note of April 18, 1916, and others mentioned herein may be found in full in the *New York Times Current History of the European War*.

146: 8. We are the sincere friends of the German people. For some time the President kept up a distinction between the German people and their government. He did not seem to realize at first that these people by virtue of their schooling for decades had come to believe exactly as their rulers believed and were at one with them in everything they did. Compare this with the same sentiment in the War Address.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Page 147. March 4, 1917, fell on a Sunday. On that day President Wilson merely took the oath of office without further

ceremony. Inauguration ceremonies were set for Monday, March 5th. There were about 50,000 people grouped about the capitol. The parade was only about one half as long as at the time of his first inauguration. The inaugural ball was abandoned. The whole atmosphere of a festive occasion was lacking. There was not a note of color. The country had broken off diplomatic negotiations with Germany and was waiting for any overt act on her part to show that she openly defied us and held us in contempt. A small group of "wilful men" in the United States Senate had held up the passage of the armed ship bill which the President was urging and the Senate had had to adjourn without enacting it into law.

147: 1. four years. For the accomplishments of his four years see the notes on his first inaugural in this volume.

148: 13. cosmopolitan people. In his address in Philadelphia, July 4, 1914, the President had called attention to the fact that this country had opened its gates to all the world and invited all people to come. This had made this country the residence of more different races than any other country in the world. Each of the warring countries in the war found sympathizers here, with a resulting division of opinion.

148: 24. For our wrongs on the seas see the notes to the war address which follows.

149: 7. armed neutrality. When two or more nations are at war a neutral nation sometimes puts itself on a military footing to protect itself in case of need against the encroachments of one or other of the belligerents.

149: 29. provincials no longer. Washington in his Farewell Address had spoken against "permanent alliances" with European nations. This had been seized upon as a policy by those parties in control of the government since Washington's time. Modern invention, however, had brought the United States to the doors of Europe and virtually made

her part of the Old World. A policy suitable for Washington's time and for many decades after him could not continue.

150: 9. These are the things. The proposals which here follow are very similar to those laid down in his address before the Senate on January 22d given above.

150: 31. assist revolution. Compare this reference to the assistance given to revolutions with his address before the Pan American Scientific Congress given above and the notes in connection with it.

151: 25. sustain and guide me. This appeal to the people to stand united behind him was founded on a knowledge which he had of conditions in the country at large. In the East there was generally a feeling that the country should have gone to war with Germany, but had the President and Congress done so it is doubtful if the West would have given full-hearted support.

The President and his supporters had carried on his campaign for reëlection on the ground that he had kept the country out of war. He now found himself being pushed into it by the actions of Germany.

152: 6. Let us dedicate ourselves. Note again the use of an expression similar to that in Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

Page 153. This address was delivered at 8.30 P.M. on the date given before a Joint Session of Congress. As it called for a State of War with Germany the moment was tense, but the cheering was such as was never heard before in the halls of Congress. The notes on this address are almost exclusively taken from those prepared by Professor W. S. Davis, Professor C. D. Allin, and Dr. William Anderson of the University of Minnesota and are reproduced by the permission of the Committee on Public Information at Washington.

This address of President Wilson voices the best ideals and aspirations of the American people. It enumerates the long train of abuses practised by Germany against us which forced us to take up arms against her.

153: 5. responsibility of making. There had been only two other periods in the history of the country equally serious — 1776 and 1861. Nobody can pretend that there have been any other crises in American history (barring the Revolution and the Civil War) when so much that citizens of this country count dear has been at stake. The War of 1812, the Mexican and Spanish wars, seem as child's play beside this exigency.

153: 7. laid before you. President Wilson had the sworn duty to lay the facts before Congress and recommend to it the needful action. The Constitution of the United States prescribes his duties in such emergencies.

153: 19. promise. On May 4, 1916, the German Government, in reply to the protest and warning of the United States following the sinking of the *Sussex*, gave this promise: That "merchant vessels both within and without the area declared a naval war zone shall not be sunk without warning, and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

The promise made by Germany thus became a binding pledge, and as such was torn up with other "scraps of paper" by the German "unlimited submarine warfare" note of January 31, 1917.

154: 14. hospital ships. Mr. Wilson was undoubtedly thinking of the cases of the British hospital ships *Asturias* sunk March 20, and the *Gloucester Castle*.

The Belgian relief ships referred to were probably the *Camilla*, *Trevier*, and the *Feistein*, but most particularly the large Norwegian steamer *Storstad*, sunk with 10,000 tons of grain for the starving Belgians. Besides these sinkings, two other relief ships — the *Tunisie* and the *Haelen* — were attacked unsuccessfully.

155:13. modern history. Mr. Wilson could have gone further back than "modern history."

Even in the most troubled period of the Middle Ages there was consistent effort to spare the lives of nonbelligerents. Thus in the eleventh century not merely did the Church enjoin the "truce of God," which ordered all warfare to cease on four days of the week, but it especially pronounced its curse upon those who outraged or injured not merely clergymen and monks, but **all classes of women**. We also have ordinances from this "dark period" of history forbidding the interference with shepherds and their flocks, the damaging of olive trees, or the carrying off or destruction of farming implements. All this at a period when feudal barons are alleged to have been waging their wars with unusual ferocity.

155:18. American ships. Following eight or more American vessels which had been sunk or attacked earlier, in most cases in contravention to international law, these ships also had been sunk, following the repudiation of her pledges by Germany:

February 3, 1917, *Housatonic*. February 13, 1917, *Lyman M. Law*. March 16, 1917, *Vigilancia*. March 17, 1917, *City of Memphis*. March 17, 1917, *Illinois*. March 21, 1917, *Healdton* (claimed to have been sunk off Dutch coast, and far from the so-called "prohibited zone"). April 1, 1917, *Aztec*. March 2, 1917, *Algonquin*.

Furthermore, no American should forget the sinking of the *William P. Frye* on January 28, 1915, by a German raider. This act under normal circumstances would be a *casus belli*. The raider, the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, then impudently took refuge in an American port.

American lives had been lost during the sinking of at least 20 vessels, whereof 4 were American, 1 Dutch, and 1 Norwegian. In one or two cases the vessel tried to escape and made resistance, and the loss of life was possibly excusable for the Germans. In the bulk of the cases the destruction was

without fair warning and without reasonable effort to give the passengers and crew chance to escape.

In all, up to declaration of war by us, 226 American citizens, many of them women and children, had lost their lives by the action of German submarines, and in most instances without the faintest color of international right.

The United States Government made an official estimate that by April 3, 1917, no less than 686 neutral vessels had been sunk by German submarines since the beginning of the war. This did not include any American vessels. (*New York Times, History of the War*, May, 1917, pp. 239 and 241.)

160:18. **critical posture of affairs.** Wars do not have to be declared in order to exist. The mere commission of warlike or unfriendly acts commences them. Thus the first serious clash in the Mexican war took place April 24, 1846. Congress "recognized" the state of war only on May 11 of that year. Already Gen. Taylor had fought two serious battles at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

Many other like cases could be cited; the most recent was the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia. In 1904 the Japanese attacked the Russian fleet before Port Arthur, and only several days after this battle was war "recognized."

If the acts of Germany were unfriendly, war in the strictest sense existed when the President addressed Congress.

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Page 167. Not an address but a proclamation or appeal to the American people, communicated to them through the medium of the newspapers.

This was the first of President Wilson's direct addresses to the people. He later used this method frequently. In a way it came to impress the people that he was their leader and spokesman elected by them for such purposes.

Contrast this appeal and its tone with that of the addresses

of the Kaiser and their tone of command. The whole difference between democracy and autocracy is illustrated by them.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

Page 173. Delivered in Arlington Cemetery outside of Washington. There was a huge throng of people assembled in the amphitheatre behind the historic Lee mansion. Veterans of the Confederate and the Union armies were there in number and their gray and blue uniforms gave color to the scene. In spite of its brevity the address was interrupted by frequent applause.

"Memorial Day," or as it is sometimes called, "Decoration Day," really originated in the South with southern women, who began the practice of placing flowers on the graves of the soldiers who had died in the Civil War. From there the custom spread to the North so that generally the day, May 30th, came to be established as a holiday throughout the Union. American residents in foreign lands quite generally hold exercises on the same day.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Page 175. As supplied to the newspapers this message bears neither date nor address. It appeared in their issues of June 9, 1917, and thus first reached the American people. It was delivered to the Russian Government, however, on May 26th. The occasion which moved the President to send it was that the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in Russia had declared in favor of a peace without indemnities or cessions of territory. The President opposes their plea for a separate peace and warns them against the apparent German double dealing. Unfortunately for them, as the future proved, they did not heed his warnings.

175: 2. **delegation.** Shortly before this the monarchical

government of Russia had been overthrown and a provisional government of republican forces set up. The President decided to send a delegation to Russia to express to the people and the new government our sympathy and desire to assist. At the head of this delegation President Wilson placed Elihu Root, formerly Secretary of State under President Roosevelt. The President used the occasion to make clear to the world as well as to the Russians the motives which prompted the United States to enter the war. In this message he first began the formulation of the principles which should guide us when the discussion of peace terms began.

176:1. propaganda. Germany had begun the first of what came to be known as her "peace offensives."

176:15. Berlin to Bagdad. See notes to **183:30** in the Flag Day Address which follows.

176:27. status quo ante. "The state in which it was before." A Latin expression used frequently in international law and during wars to refer to a settlement of a war on the basis of a return to conditions as they were before the war.

177:12. principle. Compare the principles for settlement here laid down with those in his address delivered on January 8, 1918.

FLAG DAY ADDRESS

Page 179. This address was delivered June 14, 1917, in Washington. The annotations were prepared by Professors Wallace Notestein, Elmer Stoll, August C. Krey, and William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, and Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska.

179:1. Flag Day — a day generally observed throughout the United States to celebrate the day on which the flag of the country was officially adopted, June 14, 1777.

180:27. incite Mexico. The reference is to the note sent

by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, foreign secretary, to Von Eckhart, German minister to Mexico, requesting him to seek an alliance against us with Mexico and Japan. Mexico was to have Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It was written January 19th, on the eve of the Germans' unlimited submarine warfare, and while we were at peace with Germany. The minister was to act as soon as it was "certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States." The note was intercepted, and when in March its contents were made known it set popular feeling aflame and more than any other act of aggression on the part of Germany aroused the American public.

181:25. military masters of Germany. The German Empire and its constitution was formed not by the people but by the 25 kings and princes of Germany, headed by the King of Prussia. Bismarck wrote the constitution and regarded it as adopted when the German princes and kings approved it. It was never submitted to a vote of the people. It is clear at once how perfect was this constitution. It was perfect from the standpoint of the kings and princes, especially of the Kaiser, who, as King of Prussia, controlled two-thirds of the people and two thirds of the land of Germany.

Bismarck did not choose to leave the people out entirely; thus the German constitution provided for an elected house, called the *Reichstag*. It was chosen by manhood suffrage of those over 25 years of age. The districts established in 1871 were unchanged in 1918. This meant that the large cities which have grown up since 1871 and contain the laboring vote were but partially represented, and the German Government dared not change these districts, because it would mean increased vote for the laboring classes and the Socialist party. It need not have been so fearful, for, under the constitution, the popular house was merely a great debating club, which might talk and go through the forms of considering legislation, but was not a real factor in the German Government. It was little more than a convenient piece of political scene-painting, and the room

where it met has been well called by one of the members the "Hall of Echoes."

The real power in the German Parliament lay with the *Bundesrat*, a body of 61 members, which met in secret. It was composed of diplomats appointed by the kings and princes of Germany, Prussia having the largest number. These ambassadors voted at the direction of their sovereigns, and as the King of Prussia was the most powerful and appointed the chancellor, who presided over the *Bundesrat*, he had enough votes to veto any measure. The *Bundesrat* was not only safe from democracy but was the body through which the Emperor, as King of Prussia, could really control Germany. Here were originated almost all bills, and all legislation had to be approved by the *Bundesrat*; this meant, in other words, by Prussia and its King, the former Emperor William II. It was thus that Germany had been Prussianized in its government.

183:30. German warships. The German cruisers, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, took refuge in the Dardanelles at the outbreak of the war. Instead of interning these fugitive ships in accordance with international law, the Turkish Government, already under German influence, pretended to buy them. In this manner the German Government became master of the situation and Turkey lost whatever independence it may still have had; for the German admiral and crews remained on board and a German element was introduced into the remainder of the Turkish fleet. It was this Turco-German fleet, under effective German control, that forced Turkey's reluctant entrance into the war. By order of the German admiral, it bombarded Russian Black Sea ports, without provocation, without warning, without previous authorization of the Ottoman Government, and contrary to the desires of a majority of its members. (*Diplomatic Documents*, Carnegie edition, part ii, pp. 1057-1205 and 1385-1437.)

The opinion of Maximilian Harden, editor of the *Zukunft*, as to the causes of the war, was as follows:

"Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war. We wanted it; because we had to wish it and could wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We do not stand, and shall not place ourselves, before the court of Europe.' . . . Germany strikes. If it conquers new realms for its genius, the priesthood of all the gods will sing songs of praise to the good war. . . . We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved peoples, and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the unselfish and useless consciousness of our own righteousness. We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements, and in proportion to them, is justified in asking, and must obtain, wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. The powers from whom she forced her ascendancy, in spite of themselves, still live, and some of them have recovered from the weakening she gave them. . . . Now strikes the hour for Germany's rising power." (Article by Harden translated in the *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1914. Also in *New York Times Current History*, III, p. 130.)

Dr. Rohrbach, in his *Deutschland unter den Weltvölkern*, characterized the development of Germany toward Constantinople as "the greatest political end which the present or the next generation can desire." The *Alldeutsche Blätter*, the organ of the Pan-Germans, said on December 8, 1895, that the German interests demanded as a minimum that Asiatic Turkey should be placed under Germany suzerainty. The most advantageous way would be to connect Mesopotamia and Syria and place the whole of the Sultan's dominion under German protection. (Summarized by the author of the *Pan-Germanic Doctrine*, 1904, p. 216.) "The Bagdad line," said

the *Alldeutsche Blätter*, December 17, 1899, "can become of vast political importance" to Germany.

"The establishment of a sphere of economic influence from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf has been for nearly two decades the silent unspoken aim of German foreign policy. Our diplomacy in recent years . . . only becomes intelligible when regarded as part of a consistent Eastern design. A secure future for Germany is to be reached along this line and no other." (Prof. Spiethoff, of the German University at Prague, as quoted in the *Round Table*, March, 1917.)

Across the path of this railway to Bagdad lay Serbia — an independent country whose sovereign alone among those of southeastern Europe had no marriage connection with Berlin, a Serbia that looked toward Russia. That is why Europe was nearly driven into war in 1913; that is why Germany stood so determinedly behind Austria's demands in 1914 and forced war. She must have her "corridor" to the south-east; she must have political domination all along the route of the great economic empire she planned. She was unwilling to await the process of "peaceful penetration."

REPLY TO THE POPE

Page 188. This letter was made public on August 28, 1917. Though in accordance with custom diplomatic correspondence is signed by the Secretary of State it is known that this note was written by President Wilson.

On August 1, 1917, Pope Benedict XV addressed a note to all of the warring powers, proposing a cessation of the war and a virtual return to the *status quo ante bellum*. He suggested that territorial difficulties between Germany and France and between Italy and Austria as well as those in the Balkans and in Poland could be made the subject of negotiation. It is generally supposed that the Pope was urged to

take this action at the instigation of Austria and that Germany was a party to it.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Page 193. This was the regular message to Congress required by the Constitution. The President following the custom which he had reëstablished, appeared before the joint session of the two houses and delivered his message orally. His last appearance before Congress had been when he delivered his War Message (see above) on April 2, 1917.

Since his war message events had moved rapidly. Hundreds of thousands of our troops had been sent to France, Russia had collapsed and the troops which Germany had had fighting in the east had been released and sent to fight against the Allies in France and Italy. The President had determined that we must help Italy. To do that we must make war on Austria-Hungary.

Nevertheless his call upon Congress to declare war on the latter country came with dramatic suddenness. Some thought he would denounce the Austrian intrigues which had been exposed in this country and others thought he would be pacifistic because he felt that Austria was more to be pitied than blamed. Both were disappointed.

He occupied thirty-three minutes in delivering the address. When he had finished there was a remarkable demonstration. Though there had been frequent applause during its delivery, at its close the audience rose to its feet with cheer after cheer. Senator La Follette remained seated as did also Congressman William Mason of Illinois.

The message was cabled throughout the world.

Compare his attitude on the masters of the German people and the people themselves as it is found in former addresses.

195: 32. No annexation . . . indemnities. This phrase

had been put into the mouths of the revolutionary party in Russia by the German agents and was being loudly proclaimed.

197:8. They have established . . . See notes on the Flag Day Address.

198:3. We owe it . . . The President later changed this attitude by recognizing the Czecho-Slavs as a nation.

198:22. The people of Germany . . . See notes to War and Flag Day addresses. The Kaiser had always kept insisting that the war was one of defence. This was essential to justify him for entering it without the previous consent of the *Reichstag*.

199:30. See an account of the Congress of Vienna 1814-1815, in any history. It was not a Congress at all, but a meeting of diplomats who settled affairs after the Napoleonic period by intrigue and to the advantage of kings and princes.

200:19. the Russian people . . . The President gives them credit for an intelligence which the great body of the people lacked because they had no education.

201:13. associates. The President very carefully avoids the use of the word "allies" and came to do it more and more. His object was undoubtedly to keep before the people that we had no treaty of alliance, but for the use of the word "associates" he has been much criticised.

201:31. Austria-Hungary has since been termed the jackal running after the wolf (Germany) to pick up some of the spoils.

An insistent demand was later made that we declare war on Bulgaria, but the President and his advisers had other information and held out against the demand. Eventually Bulgaria surrendered.

202:27. alien enemies. At first only male alien enemies were registered, but the women were found to be as active as the men, hence this demand.

203: 16. **profiteering** — hence making excessive profits because of the war.

204: 12. **single committee** — an appeal for a budgetary system on a scientific basis.

204: 18. **railway systems**. The railways, express companies, and telegraph and telephone companies were finally taken over by the government.

WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS

Page 207. On January 5, 1918, Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, delivered an address on the war aims of Great Britain before a Trade Union Conference. It is supposed that President Wilson immediately began drafting this address on the war aims of the United States and the terms of peace which this government had in mind. The manuscript of the address was sent to the printer on the evening of January 7, 1918. Very short notice was given to Congress to assemble in joint session to hear this address. It bears a certain resemblance to Lloyd George's address, but never before had such clear and definite exposition of war aims and peace terms been given. Later the President's political opponents began to say that the aims and terms of peace were hazily and indefinitely stated, but a careful reading will show that his meaning was clear.

There was great applause at the mention of the rectification of the wrong done Alsace-Lorraine in 1870. At this time Germany had Russia at her feet, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey were her faithful followers, Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro were overrun. She had virtually accomplished her ideal of the Middle European Empire (see the Flag Day Address notes). She was now ready for peace on what she had within her power and was much surprised and chagrined that the Entente Allies would not listen to her appeals.

Brest-Litovsk in Russia was the place chosen by Germany in the humiliated land for holding peace conferences. Russia wished to have the conferences held at Stockholm in a neutral country, but Germany refused. Delegates were present from Russia, Germany, Bulgaria, and Turkey. The Entente Allies were asked to send delegates but they refused to have anything to do with it.

207: 12. principles. The main points put forward by the Russians were no annexations and no indemnities, that each people should be permitted to determine its own form of government and whether it wished to be an independent state or united with another.

207: 19. practical terms. The Germans flatly refused to evacuate Russian Poland, Courland, Esthonia, and Lithuania and demanded that the Russians pay for the damage done Germans within their borders but refused to pay for the goods which they had taken from the Russians while their armies were in Russia. The Germans having Russia at their mercy intended to treat without mercy. All pretences of being fair were pure hypocrisy. For this reason the Russians broke off negotiations, but their utter helplessness brought them back at a later date when Germany imposed her will.

208: 30. German Reichstag. On July 19, 1917, the *Reichstag* passed resolutions to the effect that peace should be made on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. If sincere at that time Germany absolutely violated them at Brest-Litovsk.

209: 15. Not once. In this volume see the addresses and notes of "Foundations of Peace," "War Address," "Testing a Plan of Peace," "Struggling with Autocracy."

210: 4. a voice calling . . . President Wilson seems to have been hoping against hope that order would come out of the chaos which existed in Russia. Anarchistic elements, seemingly headed by German agents, had got in control and were showing themselves more tyrannical than autocracy.

These revolutionists, called Bolsheviks, had in reality overthrown the legally chosen representatives of the people and were shooting them down when they showed opposition.

211 : 2. secret covenants. There has always been opposition to such secrecy in the United States. As the Constitution requires a vote of two thirds of the Senate to make a treaty valid secrecy has been impossible.

211 : 24. program. The fourteen points which follow afterwards became the centre of peace discussion. First Austria-Hungary and then Germany stated that they were willing to accept them, and also those laid down in the Four Principles of Peace (see page 223) and those in the President's address opening the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, Sept. 27, 1918. See pages 251-2.

1. See above note on secret covenants.

2. The Germans were prone to regard this as against England, but the use of the submarine by Germany in a way to conflict with international law was probably uppermost in the President's mind.

3. This was said by the President's opponents to aim at "free trade."

4. This has been the object aimed at by European nations for years but it has always been flouted by Germany.

5. The crime committed by Germany against Belgium, first, in violating her territory and then in destroying her property and maltreating the people, will probably go down in history as the most horrible act perpetrated in centuries.

6. See any modern European history for an account of the way in which Alsace-Lorraine was stolen from France in 1871 and France made to pay an indemnity of one billion dollars. The people of Alsace-Lorraine through their representatives begged and implored not to be handed over to Germany, but that country held France helpless in her hands. The people, however, have never become reconciled to German rule.

The atrocities and violations of international law per-

petrated by the Germans in that war have never been thoroughly known by the Americans.

9. In the Trentino to the north of Italy and round Trieste the population is almost exclusively Italian and yet the places are controlled by Austria-Hungary.

10. Austria-Hungary is an empire comprising so many different nationalities in certain areas that it has been termed the polyglot empire. Many of these peoples have never been given full political rights. What the President intended to convey by "autonomous" is obscure. Did he mean absolute independence or political rights in a state federated with Austria-Hungary?

11. After the Balkan Wars Serbia had tried in vain to get a seaport but Austria-Hungary had stepped in to thwart her.

12. The same question here as under 10 arises with reference to the meaning of "autonomous." Armenians in the northeast, Greeks along the coast, and Arabs in the south are the chief subject races of Turkey.

13. In the eighteenth century Poland was wiped out of existence as an independent state by suffering three successive partitions. Russia, Prussia, and Austria shared in the spoils. Before these partitions began Poland used to have a seaport on the Baltic. Here the President does not use the word "autonomous" but "independent" and thus leaves no doubt as to his meaning.

14. A league of nations such as is suggested here has been the dream of enlightened political leaders for centuries back. Henry IV of France in the beginning of the seventeenth century proposed one. So many nations of the world have leagued themselves against Germany to put her out of the way of making trouble for the peace of mankind that such an association almost seems in sight.

MESSAGE TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

Page 216. When the Czar was overthrown it left the Russian Duma, the Russian's nearest approach to a Parliament or Congress, in control. The chief leader or minister established by that body was Kerensky. To put the government on a legal basis it was determined to have a Constituent Assembly chosen by the people so as to frame a government. Before this body met a group of radicals called Bolsheviks had ousted the former ministers from power. When these radicals saw that the representatives of the people chosen to Constituent Assembly were not going to be favorable to them they dispersed them. In their place they called together a central group of representatives chosen by Soviets or committees of soldiers and workingmen. The truth as it is now known shows that these delegates were far from representative of the Russian people. Nevertheless President Wilson, always hopeful that some order might come out of chaos, addressed them this note on the occasion of their removing their seat of government from Petrograd to Moscow in order to escape from the Germans, who, in spite of their protestations at Brest-Litovsk, were seizing the Russian Baltic seaports.

Subsequently the government of the United States in conjunction with the Allies sent troops to fight against the forces of these Soviets, who had shown themselves as anarchists and agents of general disorder.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

Page 217. This is really as much an address to the American people as to Congress. Some members of that body expressed themselves as puzzled as to the reasons for calling Congress into joint session for the delivery of this address. The members were notified to assemble on very short notice

and at 12.30 P.M. on the date given the President gave the address. The enthusiasm and applause which greeted former addresses were not evident this time.

217: 5. The German Chancellor at this time was Count von Hertling.

218: 7. Brest-Litovsk. See notes to page 207.

219: 21. Congress of Vienna. See note, **199: 30.**

223: 18. principles. The four points which follow were subsequently added to the fourteen of the January 8, 1918, address and to those of September 28, 1918, and made the basis of pleas for peace by Germany and Austria when they began to collapse.

President Wilson in this address more than any of his others shows that he feels himself as the mouthpiece and leader of the people. He also developed the idea that the President, like the British Prime Minister, is the leader of a party — an idea somewhat foreign to Americans.

ADDRESS AT BALTIMORE

Page 226. This address was delivered in the evening at Baltimore at the opening of the Third Liberty Loan campaign before an audience of 15,000 people in the Fifth Regiment Armory.

227: 29. justice. There is room for doubt here as to whether the President really had in mind that Germany should be punished for her outrages.

228: 25. Their military masters. There is here as in former addresses a note struck that if the people and statesmen of Germany could have had their way they would act differently from the military leaders. No evidence had been adduced, however, to show that the people of Germany were not one in mind and sympathy with their generals.

228: 28. In Finland the Germans had in reality forced

the selection of a German prince as king. In the Ukraine, a part of Russia which had been set up as a republic, Germany had exacted severe measures to get supplies and demanded free access to Odessa. Rumania, after Russia's collapse, had been overrun, parts of her territory taken away from her and a German garrison set upon her capital.

229:7. Are we not justified. Germany was just beginning to prepare for her final great drive on the western front which lasted until July 18th.

The President here refers to a plan which was hinted at but not presented that if Germany were permitted to take great stretches of Russia she would give up Belgium and parts of France and Italy. He shows that no such plan would be acceptable to him.

229:16. Their purpose. See the notes to the War and Flag Day addresses above.

231:11. Force. The closing lines on Force were taken up with almost universal approval by the American people. The President had never spoken so vigorously.

ADDRESS TO LABOR

Page 232. This address is really as much an address to the American people and those of Great Britain, France, and Italy as to labor.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, had stood firmly for war against Germany, and the effort of some elements in the Federation to discredit him were defeated.

This is one of the President's best-balanced addresses and was largely influential in quieting unrest in labor circles. Its very colloquial and anecdotal form was adapted to his audience.

233:31. place in the sun. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince of Germany used the expression and convinced the

German people that they were being crowded out from a place in the sun and must fight for it.

234: 25. subsidy. The German Government had incurred huge debts in order to give these subsidies.

235: 4. Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. See the Flag Day Address and the notes.

236: 2. Pan-Germans. Those who wished Germany to spread out and conquer.

By a system of education carried on for a generation the majority of the German people had become Pan-German in ideas.

236: 6. one of the Central Powers. Austria-Hungary.

236: 7. chief Central Power. Germany.

236: 22. groups in Russia. Misguided people who like the Bolsheviki thought that they could put through idealistic reforms and that the German Government would not dare harm the Russian people because the German people would rise up and stop it. They were rudely awakened.

237: 1. pacifists. A group of people in this country who did not believe in going to war with Germany no matter how badly she might trample upon us. Not to be confused with a group that believed in international tribunals for settling disputes. Many of the men surrounding the President had had the reputation of being pacifists of the very kind that the President condemned.

237: 6. Colonel Edward M. House of Texas had been an intimate friend and adviser of the President for many years. The President sent him abroad many times to represent him. His political opponents criticised him very much for this somewhat unusual procedure.

238: 22. capitalists. The President has stood as the friend of the laboring men as opposed to the capitalists and when the former were about to tie up all of the industries of the country by a strike on the railroads he favored and put through legislation which gave them very handsome increases in wages.

Note that fully one half of this address is taken up with a virtual appeal to laboring men to stay on the job and settle their disputes with their employers amicably.

240: 1. The mob spirit. Evidently referring to the I.W.W. — Industrial Workers of the World — many of whose leaders are opposed to all government and control.

GREETING TO FRANCE

Page 241. On July 14, 1789, the French people in Paris stormed the Bastille, an old and forbidding castle which stood in the city and typified to them the tyranny of their kings. The day was afterwards, in 1793, set aside as their liberty day, just as July 4th is ours. Germany has no liberty day to celebrate and no liberty document to venerate.

Fully 200 American cities celebrated the day. In New York city there was a great procession of all nationalities.

President Poincaré and General Foch sent thanks and the chairman of the Committee on Allied Tribute to France sent a note on the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine.

INDEPENDENCE DAY ADDRESS

Page 242. This was delivered at the grave of Washington at Mount Vernon. All of the diplomatic representatives of the great nations of the world were present.

The introductory paragraph is a masterpiece of literary expression.

243: 6. Barons at Runnymede, who forced King John to sign the Magna Carta in 1214, a document which lies at the foundation of English liberty and is venerated not only by the English, but by Americans and other liberty-loving peoples.

244: 18. friendless group of governments. Germany and her allies. The Kaiser and his friends are here classified as

they deserved to be — in a class with men of ages back — medieval robber barons.

245: 1. **These are the ends.** Compare the four points here made with the fourteen given in the address of January 8, 1918, and the four in the address of February 11, 1918.

246: 5. **debating.** Here the President would seem to imply that peace by negotiation was not to be undertaken.

Though this address was not intended particularly for foreign powers, Von Hertling, the German Chancellor, replied to it July 10, 1918, in an address to the *Reichstag*, and Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, replied to it in an address to the Austrian and Hungarian Prime Ministers, July 16, 1918, on the eve of a *Reichsrath* meeting.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN ADDRESS

Page 247. This address was delivered at the opening of the campaign for the Fourth Liberty Loan at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City on Friday night, September 27, 1918.

Unlike most of the President's public addresses it was carefully prepared and printed in advance. He adhered closely to the text which he held in his hand and glanced at as he spoke.

He delivered the address rapidly and allowed few pauses for applause. There was, however, an outburst when he made it clear that peace would be dictated to a defeated Germany and would not rest upon her promises of good conduct hereafter, but would be guaranteed.

This address with those of January 8 and February 11, 1918, became very important in armistice and peace negotiations, for in the three the terms of peace were laid down. First Austria-Hungary, then Germany began to appeal to them and declare that they would accept them as the basis of peace.

248: 24. **We came into it.** See War Message and notes to it as given above.

249:7. Those issues. See the addresses of January 8 and February 11, 1918, above.

250:6. Bucharest. Capital of Rumania. When this country was crushed because of the collapse of Russia Germany imposed a peace which took away from Rumania territory inhabited by Rumanians. This was in direct conflict with the principles enunciated by President Wilson as those for which the Americans were fighting.

251:31. particulars. Compare these with the fourteen and four given in preceding addresses.

253:8. entangling alliances. See Washington's Farewell Address given above.

256:5. peace drives. A term applied to the efforts of the Central Powers to get peace while their armies were still in the ascendant.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Page 257. This address was delivered at 3 P.M. in the Salle de la Paix in the French Foreign Office. Monsieur Clémenceau was in the chair. At his right was Mr. Wilson and at his left Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain. The latter seconded the resolution to create the League about which Mr. Wilson was speaking.

Canby and Opdycke
ELEMENTS OF COMPOSITION

Cloth

12mo.

593 pages

\$1.20

A complete course in the principles of forceful writing for high schools. Part I covers the preliminary matters of choice and arrangement of subject matter. Part II is a study of the recognized forms of composition, exposition, argument, description, narration, and the story. In Part III, Aids to Composition, there are given for reference or review necessary details concerning spelling, punctuation, capitalization, grammatical forms, figures of speech, etc. The book is planned for modern high schools. It is a stimulating textbook that gets results.

Canby and Opdycke
GOOD ENGLISH

Cloth

12mo.

381 pages

\$1.00

A book for the younger pupils in the high school and for junior high schools. A book that makes the young pupil think and write forcefully and clearly. It covers essentials promptly and thoroughly, gives explanations, and makes immediate application in exercises. It concentrates on a few vital principles and permits of no waste. It is flexible, informal, and effective.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

POCKET CLASSICS DEVOTED TO AMERICAN PATRIOTIC LITERATURE

Burke's Speech on Conciliation. Edited by Sidney C. Newsom.

Bryce on American Democracy. Edited by Maurice Garland Fulton.

Early American Orations. Edited by Louie R. Heller.

Epoch-Making Papers in United States History. Edited by Marshall S. Brown.

Hale's Man Without a Country. Edited by Samuel M. Tucker.

Lincoln's Addresses, Inaugurals, and Letters. Edited by Percival Chubb.

Select Orations. Edited by Archibald M. Hall.

Selections from American Poetry. Edited by Margaret S. Carhart.

Southern Poets. Edited by William L. Weber.

Southern Orators. Edited by Joseph M. McConnell.

Washington's Farewell Address and Webster's Bunker Hill Orations. Edited by William T. Peck.

American Democracy from Washington to Wilson. Edited by John H. Finley and James Sullivan.

American Patriotism in Prose and Verse. Edited by J. Madison Gathany.

Send for a complete list of Macmillan's Pocket Classics

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

American Literature for Secondary Schools

By WILLIAM B. CAIRNS

Assistant Professor of American Literature, University of Wisconsin

Cloth, 12° , ill., 341 pages, \$1.32

This is a brief treatment of American Literature written expressly for the high school course, and with its limitations in mind. It deals rather fully with the big figures, biographically and critically, and it shows also the place and influence of the lesser writers in each period. The book is conveniently divided into chronological periods wherein the writers are grouped according to locality whenever this relation has a special significance.

Another very valuable feature of the book is the material placed at the end of each chapter: *General Suggestions* for studying the period as a whole, *Suggestions for Reading*, and *Suggestions for Papers and Topics*. These helps are so abundant and so carefully arranged that they will introduce much variety and vital suggestion into the class discussion. The book is very fully illustrated with pictures that really illustrate, and in other details the make-up of the text is designed to assist as well as to please both student and teacher.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

T W E L V E V O L U M E S O F
A M E R I C A N P O E T R Y I N
T H E P O C K E T C L A S S I C S S E R I E S
A T T H E U N I F O R M P R I C E O F
3 2 C E N T S A V O L U M E

Bryant's Thanatopsis, Sella, and Other Poems. Edited by
J. H. Castleman.

Emerson's Earlier Poems. Edited by Oscar C. Gallagher.

Holmes's Poems. Selections. Edited by J. H. Castleman.

Longfellow's Courtship of Miles Standish and Minor Poems.
Edited by Will D. Howe.

Longfellow's Evangeline. Edited by Lewis B. Semple.

Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha. Edited by Elizabeth Flem-
ing.

Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn. Edited by J. H.
Castleman.

Lowell's Vision of Sir Launfal and Other Poems. Edited by
Herbert E. Bates.

Poe's Poems. Edited by Charles W. Kent.

Selections from American Poetry. Edited by Margaret S.
Carhart.

Southern Poets. Selections. Edited by William L. Weber.

Whittier's Snow-Bound and Other Early Poems. Edited
by Archibald L. Bouton.

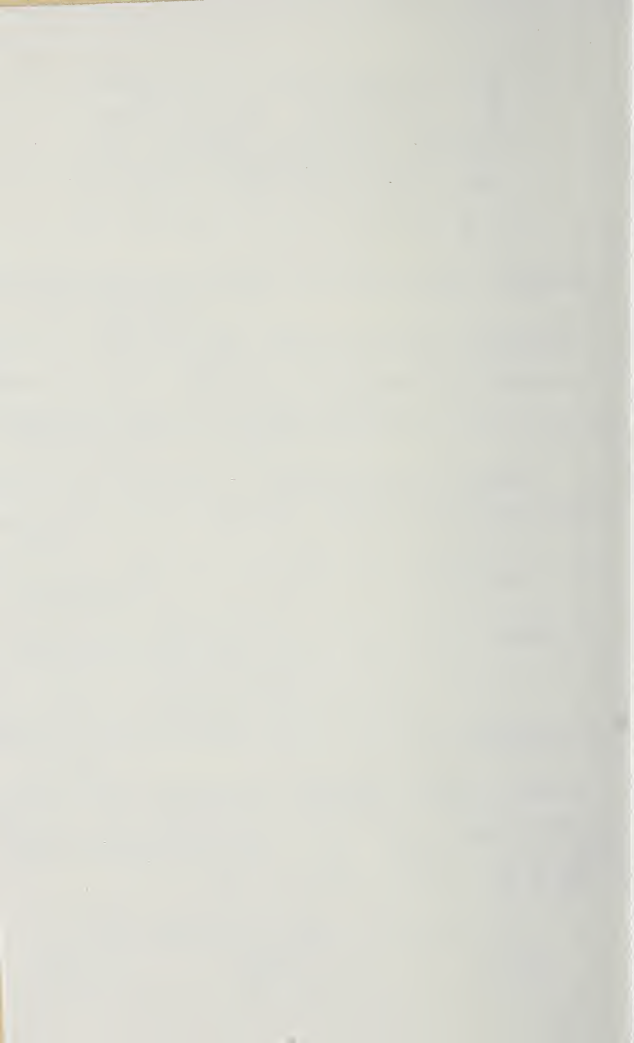
H 98-830

T H E M A C M I L L A N C O M P A N Y

New York
Chicago

Boston
San Francisco

Atlanta
Dallas







JAN 83

**N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962**

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 012 051 394 1

